With Mr Mao Tse-tung in Peking, September 1957
At the airport on arrival in Peking, September 1957
With Mr Josef Cyrankiewicz
and Madam Cyrankiewicz,
New Delhi, March 1957
With Mr Lobanov, Leader of the Soviet Parliamentary Delegation, New Delhi, February 1958
Commonwealth has its advantages. While you ruled out representatives from other countries, you asked the Commonwealth countries to come. Well, that is one advantage at least.

We are happy to be here because only a few months before you attained your independence, we had also attained our independence. But the tasks facing us are of a stupendous character, removing the inequalities and injustices within our own countries and within the world. You spoke, Sir, about the democratic tradition. Democracy means a society of equals though they may be different. People may be of different persuasions, different communities and yet you treat them as equal: that is the essence of democracy. We cannot dismiss or repudiate any country or any individual as insignificant or devoid of importance. You do not know the possibilities of people unless we give them a chance of developing the potentialities which they possess. What is necessary is equality of opportunity. The Commonwealth today is a multi-racial, multi-national association. As your Prime Minister remarked, no obligations; an informal association while we discuss problems and go our own ways.

We want to make the world into a commonwealth of free nations—multi-racial and multi-national. It is the vision of that future which inspires us to live and work in this exciting age. Without a vision people cannot succeed. The vision of democracy is that every nation can grow better than it happens to be and every individual has undiscovered possibilities in him and we must enable him to develop those possibilities. As a political arrangement, parliamentary democracy is the best that has been devised. We can have changes of governments without breaking heads, without violent upheavals and revolutions. As a social and economic technique, it enables us to bring about justice among all individuals. Governments are there to rule with the consent of the governed. And the way in which we treat our Opposition and the minorities is the test of a true democracy. In international affairs, we feel that we can solve many problems by adopting a democratic approach, an approach of negotiation, discussion, agreement, or adjustment of our views. Democracy, therefore, is a vision of a human society of different people who are treated equally. It is a political arrangement, it is a social and economic technique. It is also an international method of approach. Democracy within means a society of different people treated equally. Democracy
on the international scale means a society of different nations liberated from their servitude, degradation and lifted into decency and freedom. It is these ideals which bind us together and I have no doubt that Ceylon, both internally and externally, will work for this great ideal.

CEYLON INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr Prime Minister and Friends,

It is my great honour to convey to your Government and people the cordial greetings and good wishes of the Government and people of India on this auspicious occasion when you are celebrating the completion of ten years of independence. We have had long friendly associations with each other and even today are working for common aims in the Commonwealth, the Colombo Plan, the Afro-Asian group and the U.N.

Your country has had a long history. It was known to Megas-thenes, Claudius and Ptolemy. Your great leaders of the past, Mahinda and Parâkramabâhu, among others, built beautiful cities, erected magnificent monuments. They did so not because they had great wealth or absolute power or prolific imagination but because they had the vision of true greatness, greatness which rises above circumstances and does the right, careless of the cost or the consequences. Your people had then great driving force and an inspiring ideal which resulted in great achievements. But for some centuries past, we all seemed to have grown old and weary. We have now to recover our lost youth and face our tasks with decision and courage. Like other nations of Asia who were submerged till recently and have now emerged into independence you are full of hope and idealism. Anyone who clings to his self-interest is his own enemy. He who gives up his self-interest is his own saviour. It is this quality of selflessness that we need today in the world.

You have a jewel of a country, rich, beautiful, with an easily manageable population. You have natural resources, man power, and if you develop the will and the determination to mobilize

Colombo, 4 February, 1958
these, your country will be great. What we saw this morning at the Independence Square gives us an idea of the high quality of your youth. They need proper guidance and leadership. A country is not so much the soil as the soul or the spirit of a people. We have to liberate ourselves from the dead hand of the past, from the racial and religious differences which are impeding our progress. We must develop the spirit which is determined to dispel the clouds which hang over the future, and lift the heavy burdens now weighing upon many of our people. We must work for national coherence and material progress. Neither material wealth nor political power can thrive without moral foundations. It is the men of integrity, of renunciation who maintain the world: *santo bhūmīṁ tapasā dhārayanti*.

It is our earnest and devout hope that you may achieve progress in your country and contribute to human welfare. On this day of rejoicing it is your responsibility to pledge your lives and fortunes to defend, preserve and enrich the blessings of freedom and transmit the great ideals of justice, equality and fellowship to future generations.

*SOVIET PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION*

In 1955, in response to the kind invitation of Parliament of the Soviet Union, a delegation of our Parliament visited the Soviet Union. Since then, we have been very eager to welcome in our country the representatives of Parliament of the Soviet Union. We are very happy to have this delegation with us for a few days and I hope that they enjoyed their stay in our country.

It is not necessary for me to say how much we are impressed by the great achievements of the Soviet Union in the fields of science and technology. By blood, sweat and tears, the Soviet people raised themselves from a state of backwardness to their present position. The advent of the sputniks is hailed by many as heralding a new age of space travel. It is another expression of man's insatiable curiosity and inventiveness.

Speech at Dinner to the Soviet Parliamentary Delegation to India, New Delhi, 7 March, 1958
We are attempting the industrial development of our country by methods which are determined by our own character and traditions. Some countries are democracies; others have parliaments; we have a parliamentary democracy. We are grateful to the Soviet Union for the help she is giving us in our economic reconstruction. If in their hour of prosperity nations lose their balance, history shows that nemesis will overtake them. When we are in a prosperous position, it is essential for us to adopt an attitude of humility. No one will complain that you do so out of fear or weakness, for your strength is well known.

We must not only reach toward the stars but also learn to live at peace with ourselves and with our neighbours. This is also a searching exercise; but its results will be rewarding.

We have been watching with great interest the attempts the Soviet Union is making to lead the world out of its present sense of insecurity and danger and avoid the wasteful expenditure on terrifying weapons. We must all try to lift the dark clouds which hang over us. We are anxious as you are that Summit Talks should be held, they should be held in an atmosphere of goodwill and imagination and that those talks should be successful. In this crucial stage of human history we are prepared to work with the Soviet Union and all other nations who are interested in fostering understanding, dissipating suspicion and establishing a world order.

I have no doubt that your visit to us will contribute to a further strengthening of the bonds between our two countries. I wish to convey to your Government and people our good wishes for peaceful progress and prosperity.

THE GABRIEL SILVER LECTURE 1957-58

I am grateful to you for your kind invitation to give the Gabriel Silver Lecture for the year 1957-58. When I recall the names of my predecessors on this foundation including your illustrious President who inaugurated the series, I recognize the great honour that you have conferred on me.

The lectureship was established in April 1949 to help toward a better understanding between men and nations by breaking down

Columbia University, New York City, 8 April, 1958
the barriers of suspicion and distrust through education and understanding. It is a task which Universities like this can achieve in an eminent degree, for they include members of different nations who are trained to discuss problems in an atmosphere free from prejudice and emotional bias. Universities, where we fight for the rights of the unfettered mind, uninhibited truth, where we defend the independent scholar against the bigot, cannot afford to adopt a crusading attitude. They should not become loud-speakers for propaganda, political, racial, or religious.

Besides, our country won its freedom from a colonial status by methods of peaceful negotiation, suffering and sacrifice under the leadership of one whose authority was based not on power or position but on patience and understanding. This has led to one of the great reconciliations in recent history. We have for the British today goodwill and friendship and our relations are not marred by any feelings of illwill or bitterness. Gandhi taught us the strength of gentleness, of meekness, of a courage unafraid though we do not claim to practise his teaching. We try to remember in our national life and international approach what he taught us.

Bearing in mind the University spirit and our own recent experience, I shall make a few observations on the subject of this lectureship, International Peace.

Two prominent features of our time are the increasing unification of the world and the development of nuclear weapons. Mankind divided into groups determined by geographical conditions and historical forces is getting together into a single neighbourhood. Individuals who looked upon themselves as members of groups representing special interests, racial, religious and national, are becoming increasingly aware that they belong to a whole, a single family. Ties of race and history, common beliefs and loyalties which bind men together have been loosened by the forces of modern life and the strains of economic change. The inventions of science and technology which diminish distances, economic penetration, and the circulation of ideas through new means of communications are at work. Civilizations are no more remote from each other. In this shrinking world we cannot live without others. This is a condition arising out of a series of historical facts and consequences. The many experiments in international co-operation, in education, health, science, culture, labour, food and agriculture, the increasing awareness of common interests among the peoples of the world, the
growing interdependence of nations indicate that we are moving towards an international society, a family of mankind. George Washington prophesied that all nations will become conscious units in 'the great Republic of Humanity at large'. The world is our home.

Yet, it is in ferment. The forces of science and technology which have helped the unification of the world are making the use of force outmoded, a relic of the past. There was a time when Governments believed in organized warfare. Even when they were defeated they did not lose faith in violence. They traced their defeat to inadequacy in military strength and tried to increase it. Today a war with modern nuclear weapons may mean the destruction of civilization. In such a conflict there will be no distinction between the victor and the vanquished. Even non-belligerent nations who do not have any nuclear weapons will be involved in it. Nuclear tests, scientists warn us, endanger the life and health of generations yet unborn. The understanding of common danger, the possibility of total annihilation, is a constant reminder to us that we should either disarm or suffer disaster.

There is no nation in the world which has not the great desire to survive and yet the great Powers are increasing steadily their piles of deadly weapons, as if driven by some fatality. The unbridled race for armaments and the mounting war psychosis show that we are confused in our minds about peace and friendship among nations. Is it impossible for us to say that we are too proud to fight with nuclear weapons? It, of course, requires an act of faith. Are we incapable of it?

Though we define man as a reasoning animal, his conduct is not guided by logic and reason. Passions, vanity, honour, and short-term interests often govern national behaviour. We are victims of local pressures and national obsessions. Successive waves of internationalism broke on the shores of local pride and national vanity.

This generation has the responsibility for deciding whether the human race is to prosper or decline, whether our conduct will lead to a beginning or an end. It is a challenge that faces us with danger and opportunity, world destruction or world peace. It is the crisis of the human race. Deuteronomy tells us: 'I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live.'

XXX, 10
We are asked to choose. But man is tending to lose his creativity when he feels that nothing gets better, he cannot improve anything, his daily life is controlled by pressures and he hears from philosophers echoes of his anxiety and despair. The changeless values of spirit, the pursuit of truth and the practice of love which have nourished the great pages of history do not seem to be relevant to an age steeped in science, deserted by religion and deprived of even humanist ideals. We seem to have reached the height of irresponsibility.

It is wrong to assume that events are sweeping mankind towards unknown and predestined ends. We are not the helpless pawns of natural forces. There are no inexorable laws of historic development. If we assume historical inevitability, our effort will be paralysed, our initiative destroyed and our dignity lost. Though man is rooted in nature, he also transcends nature. Marx is right in holding that we are conditioned by our social and economic setting but we are not determined by it. There is an element in man which cannot be accounted for by nature. He can sit in judgement on himself. Pascal refers to this truth when he says that, though the unthinking forces of nature may crush man, they do not know what they are doing but he knows. This is his self-consciousness, his freedom, his superiority to nature. He cannot become a mere function of society. 'The greatest mystery', Mr. Malraux makes one of his characters say in *The Walnut Trees of Altenberg*, 'is not that we have been flung at random between the profusion of the earth and the galaxy of the stars, but that in this prison we can fashion images of ourselves sufficiently powerful to deny our own nothingness.' All these point to the creative role of human choice and responsibility.

Regarding the future there is nothing sure or predestined or guaranteed. The only certainty is that the good will prevail over evil or, as our national motto says, Truth will triumph, not falsehood. The spirit in man is the source of his freedom. We are free to choose the cause. When once we exercise our choice, we may not be able to alter or affect the effect.

History tells us that all those who chose world domination by force broke against the rock of moral law and came to their end. The Indians and the Greeks have a saying: 'Those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.' The Pharaohs, the Caesars, and the Hitlers had tried force and failed. We are not asked to speak
the truth or love our neighbour only on condition that the other person does it. A great nation has to take courage and lead the way.

We are yet in an early hour of the morning of man's history. His civilized life is hardly ten thousand years old and even in that period many empires and civilizations have appeared and disappeared. We see failures and collapses, recoveries and victories. We need not assume that our civilization is the final expression of human wisdom. If we believe in the moral government of the world, we will adhere to the principles of love and brotherhood, and our civilization will survive. It will disappear if it does not conform to them.

We have advanced across the centuries. We believe in creative evolution. The only absolute in the world, Marx says, is change. Let the dead bury the dead. The past of exclusive nationalism, racial superiority is a burden. What counts is the future, the promise. We have scrapped bows and arrows, wheels and carts. We need today the courage to change, to scrap old prejudices, old approaches to international problems. Even as we have adjusted ourselves to the machine age, we have to adjust ourselves to the nuclear age.

The crisis that is facing us is not a material or an economic crisis; it is not an intellectual crisis. It is a moral and spiritual crisis. We have mastered the forces of nature. We can produce food from the inexhaustible plant life of the sea. Power released from the atom and drawn from the sun and the stars can lift from the backs of men the burdens they have borne for centuries. We have discovered remedies for deadly diseases of body and mind. By harnessing new energies we can raise human wellbeing to undreamed of levels. We can produce enough material goods to provide for all the people of the world. The old causes of war, hunger, poverty and hopelessness need not be there. As men are freed from the battle of physical existence, they will press forward in their struggle against ignorance, suspicion, malice and hatred. Our intellectual achievements are unparalleled. If, in spite of these possibilities of material abundance and intellectual power, peace is still in peril, it is due to a cussedness in human nature which still persists, a moral blindness, a spiritual affliction which we are unable to overcome. We have not yet learnt to behave as members of an international community, in spite of our membership of the U. N. We are suffering from a split mind. Not only has the
atom been split in our time but our minds, hearts and consciences are rent asunder.

In spite of our great advances in science and technology, we are not far removed from the brute. Animals squabble occasionally and fight ferociously at the mating season but they do not periodically destroy each other.

It seems simpler and easier to remake the face of the material environment. To remake our inward nature, to accept the values of spirit which make for creative living, justice, freedom and equality is a harder task. In a letter to Joseph Priestley, discoverer of oxygen, Benjamin Franklin expressed his conviction about the limitless progress to be expected of science and added the following hope: 'O that moral science were in a fair way of improvement, that men would cease to be wolves to one another and that human beings would at length learn what they now improperly call humanity.' The Kingdom of Heaven within us is struggling against the brute forces of the world. The evil in us has to be conquered. What we need is the inner development of man himself, of man as a spiritually, morally and socially creative being. We need a change of heart, a conversion of the soul.

In our generation we have had two world wars. We won the wars but lost the peace. The victors were unable to find the patience necessary for reconciliation. After the first World War we set up the League of Nations but it failed on account of our nationalist obsessions. After the second World War we set up the United Nations Organization with the objective of maintaining peace by removing the causes of international tension and creating an international order based on justice, freedom and tolerance. Its work is greatly hampered by its lack of universality and the division of the great Powers into two camps. It is this division that carries the threat of war which weighs on all peoples of the world. There is tension between the ideal of international order and the facts of international politics. The prospects of peace are bound up with co-operation among the great Powers.

How can we overcome the present division in the world? We cannot adopt the Calvinist view that there is only one truth and those who think differently are inspired by the devil. If we pose the problem in terms of absolute good and evil, if we create pictures in black and white, between religious faith and materialistic atheism, between freedom and tyranny, we make communication
and understanding difficult. Each one says that the love of truth constrains him to denounce error.

The human individual, the strange and significant product of evolution, must think of the human family as one. He must look upon his fellowman as a friend and collaborator in a common purpose and not as a potential enemy to be feared, hated and killed. He should not assume that he has eternal and ultimate wisdom and the other absolute folly. No portion of mankind was as good as it thought itself or as bad as it was thought by its enemies. We must tread another road in dealing with human relationships.

Public opinion in this country has changed in regard to the atom bomb. When only this country had it, it was accepted as good since it was capable of stopping a great war and millions of lives. When other countries also developed it, we found its real character as a dangerous weapon which might destroy civilization. What was once regarded as acceptable is now treated as evil.

When we speak of a ‘free’ world, we are using the word ‘free’ in a loose sense. It includes a number of unfree military dictatorships, non-democratic authoritarian governments, several of which exalt race discrimination. Hitler is said to have proclaimed once: ‘I am making all Germans unfree in order to make Germany free.’ We mean by the free world non-communist world. It is a negative definition.

Modern psychiatry tells us that it is no use becoming furious at people who behave stupidly or wickedly. Instead of losing our tempers with them, we should study the reasons for their behaviour. Perhaps it may be wise for us to adopt a similar attitude in regard to the cold war. Indignation against wrong is better than indifference to wrong. But gentleness and compassion are better than both. There is a temptation to look upon our opponents as inhuman monsters, infernal fiends plotting in dark cellars, who require to be destroyed for the safety and health of the world. But we should try to change the mind of our opponents without resorting to force. If we disagree with our opponent, it is not a justification for destroying him. If he is blind, we should help him to see. We must awaken the sense of justice in him. We should never weary in our effort to help him to cast off his error. Then what is good in him will unite with what is good in us and we will all march unitedly towards the goal. Cruel methods are not necessary
even to drive out cruelty. We should not use the methods of the
devil to drive out the devil. Not condemnation of each other but
mutual education is necessary. Vengeance is God’s.
The present situation calls for repentance, a recognition of
our imperfection and fallibility. It is not a question of all doves
in communist countries or all vultures in others or vice versa.
The spirit of God transcends man-made curtains. The first step
we have to take is to look upon our enemies as people like ourselves
who are anxious to lead quiet, respectable lives. They are like
ourselves, fathers, mothers, sons and daughters and children.
They are men like ourselves with energy and sacrifice, eager to
rectify the injustices of the world, real or imaginary. We can then
understand what the reasons are for their behaviour which is so
disagreeable to us. We shall then realize that their success is the
measure of our failure.
If we are blameless we can judge others, but we are not. The
other day at the Mormon Tabernacle at Salt Lake City I heard
a Negro Spiritual which opened with the line, ‘Were you there when
they crucified the Lord’. We are here today when we are crucifying
him on the cross of power, domination, national idolatry and
racial arrogance. We see man’s capacity for monstrous deeds,
the susceptibility of even the gifted to delusion and of the seemingly
decent persons for malice and hatred. Out of the heart of our
civilization came the two World Wars, persecution of millions of
people on racial grounds, concentration camps, torture chambers
and atomic destruction. We acquiesced in all these and even now
do not seem prepared to put our ideals and insights into practice.
We seem to be satisfied with dispensing advice and indulging in
self-righteous warnings. If we wish to stop subversive movements
the flame of social reform should burn in our hearts. We must
bring the light of a new life into the minds and hearts of millions of
underprivileged men, women and children.
If we want to convert our opponent, we must not always speak
of his lower side, his defects and shortcomings. We must present
to him his own higher and nobler side. Systems which involve
millions of people cannot be explained by simple formulas of poli-
tical machinations and intrigues. We must discern a human mind
and a human heart even in the fanatic faces of our opponents
who adopt different ideologies. Are we certain that there is no
freedom of intellectual initiative and adventure in the Soviet
Union? If freedom is the life-blood of science, can we doubt the resilience of the Soviet system which has achieved miracles in science, engineering and technology even as this country has done? There is freedom for the scientist, the artist and the intellectual in the Soviet Union and these latter will demand freedom in other fields also, for freedom cannot function in fractions. As the Soviet people get educated and are trained to think independently, they will ask for civil liberties, parliamentary opposition, control of the bureaucracy by public opinion. No government can trample on the wishes of its people and crush their dreams.

Professor Arthur H. Compton writes: 'The achievement of Russian production in turning out military weapons has won our respect and admiration. Their planes are excellent, in some respects superior to our own. Their guns are of the very highest quality. The speed of their development of atomic weapons has taken us by surprise. Their advance toward practical use of atomic power, as shown in Geneva in 1955, means that they will compete strongly for world leadership in the field.

'In education a similar growth has occurred. A generation ago the Russian people were largely illiterate. Today they are graduating nearly twice as many engineers as is the United States. In music and drama they have a notable record.

'Such educational development cannot occur without giving a better understanding of the value of freedom. In this regard we can be confident that time is working for us. Already we have seen substantial changes occurring behind the Iron Curtain. These changes have not been altogether political. The recent fall of T. D. Lysenko from his position as dictator of a false science of genetics is an example. The fact is that Russia is becoming industrially and intellectually a modern nation. Whether by gradual change or by violent internal upset, we can rely on the universal social forces to bring that great half of the world into such a condition that harmonious adjustment with the free half becomes possible. And social changes are occurring in Russia at a very fast tempo."

Science and technology have relieved mankind of degrading drudgery. They have added to man's comfort, health and enjoyment of existence. The average life span of man on earth has been greatly increased. Science has added to the dignity and stature of the

1Atomic Quest (1956), pp. 351-352
individual. When man is relieved from the battle for physical safety, he becomes a little creator. Every challenge of science has added to man's moral stature. As we find that the world is much more wonderful than we ever dreamed it to be, we are led into new fields of awareness, new ranges of attainment, new realization of destiny. New knowledge is both a challenge and an opportunity. 'For it is not yet known what man may be.' He must, without haste and without rest, strive to reach the quality of human greatness, that is, greatness in humanity. Mankind is the higher sense of the planet. When it realizes its destiny of inward awareness and social compassion, then the great reconciliation among the peoples of the world in which all groups win and no one loses will take place.

If we wish to secure enduring peace, pacts and treaties are not enough. The two World Wars started with the repudiation of pacts and pledges. Peace is not the result of an armed truce or a cold war. It is possible only if all nations spontaneously accept the ideals of justice, freedom and decency, justice for all nations, freedom for all men of goodwill and decency in our international behaviour. The new civilization is open to all people who believe in the fundamental values, in spite of race or creed. The limits of the community are world-wide and are decided by attitudes of mind and not frontiers of geography. Our civilization is not altogether bankrupt. It can yet lead us to a freer, juster, friendlier world.

If the disordered pattern of our society is to be set right, we have to fashion a peace that will assure justice and individual liberty to all and remove the injustices which are the sources of unrest and conflict. To establish peace, we must remove the conditions which make for wars.

We are living in a period of great change and rising aspiration. There are some forces in human nature which cannot be destroyed, such as love of one's soil. Nationalism is a decisive factor in modern history. It can be kept pure only if the nationals of a country have a human feeling for all men. From the love of our country we must progress to a love of mankind. It should not develop into a hatred of other nations. No nation should desire to promote its interests at the expense of others. Genuine nationalism is consistent with membership in an international order. The principle of variety in unity should guide the behaviour of all nations. If we suppress
national aspirations and support feudalism and reaction, we lose the battle. We must assist subject nations to win their freedom. The U. N. Organization should devise a machinery for effecting peaceful changes and completing the unfinished movements for independence.

It is our duty to promote racial harmony. Racial injustice is the raw material of strife. Human beings should not be deprived of their dignity on account of their race or colour. Men of social conscience are everywhere striving to remove racial discrimination. If we acquiesce in racial segregation, we participate in something unclean. Enlightened self-interest demands the removal of this injustice as soon as possible. It is not merely self-interest. It is fellow-feeling. In our country we have troubles about caste discrimination and untouchability which we are striving to eliminate.

Again, internationalism should be not only political but economic also. Even as within a nation the more fortunate persons are called upon to assist the less fortunate ones, so in the international world the more favoured ones should assist the less advanced. We have now food surpluses in some countries and starving peoples in others. All men have a right to be fed, clothed and sheltered. Their minds should be trained and their spirits nourished. Backward nations should be helped to acquire the economic apparatus by which they can raise themselves. Our fight should be against hunger, disease and illiteracy. It is possible to free humanity from these scourges. If we do not, the revolution of the destitute and the desperate will shake the world.

Those who suffer from privation and poverty are attracted by other alternatives which can hardly worsen their position. A sense of hopelessness among the people is a potent cause of upheavals. People will put up with any amount of political terror if they are earning and eating. Millions in Asia and Africa are intent on improving their material condition; until that happens they will not find the values of freedom. Human beings generally resort to violence when pressed by economic want. The unequal distribution of power and wealth, the wide differences of health and education among the nations of mankind, are the sources of discord in the modern world, its greatest challenge—and if unchecked, its greatest danger. We should look upon the world as one unit. We need a world economic development programme. If we do not
wish to destroy the world, advanced nations should set apart a small fraction of their national income for the purpose of this programme. We have the insight. Why do we not have the zeal? When we know that the future of under-privileged countries is unpredictable, why is it that we do not have a sense of urgency, conviction, passion, warmth? Why are we not stirred by the idea of one world which will compel us to liberate the poor and the exploited strata of our society?

If we assist subject nations to become free, if racial discrimination is removed and if under-privileged countries are helped to raise their standards of living, the root causes of conflict will disappear.

An international society is the goal to which we are moving. We cannot reverse the processes of history. There must, however, be a machinery for enforcing the rule of law among the nations of the world. In a disarmed world we should have an effective United Nations with a police force universally recognized and respected. While it should not interfere with the internal affairs of nations, it should protect all nations against lawlessness and aggression from outside. No single nation has the right to police the world but all nations can contribute their equitable share to the U.N. force. We should transcend in some measure our national sovereignty for the sake of the survival of the human race even as individuals have given up the right to enforce their will by force.

Common interests transcend differences of ideology. We can mobilize the consciences of our contemporaries, even those living in communist countries, for shaping a better future for humanity. The peoples and governments of the world, whatever their ideologies may be, are interested, in this age of the conquest of outer space, in preserving peace and averting war. There is no magic formula or short-cut solution to peace. We may proceed step by step, reach limited agreements, improve the political climate, strengthen the confidence among nations and foster policies of live and let live, of co-existence. It is the only way to develop a moral community in which we can live together and work for a fuller life of our peoples and remove the greatest fear, which is fear itself.

It is therefore essential for the leaders of the great Powers to start negotiations in an atmosphere of goodwill, sincerity and
imagination, with a determination to reach agreement. Whatever the difficulties may be, the search for reaching agreement should not be abandoned.

Many years ago, Alexander Hamilton wrote to Mr. Rufus King who was American Minister in Britain that ‘This country will ere long assume an attitude correspondent with its great destinies—majestic, efficient and operative of great things. A noble career lies before it.’ Leadership cannot be exercised by the weak. nāyam ātmā balahinena labhyāḥ. You have attained that great position of leadership in the world. You have helped European economic recovery after the second World War. You gave us your sympathy and moral support in our struggle for independence and your moral and material assistance now in our economic reconstruction and industrial development. You have done many great things in the past, but nothing will compare with what is expected of you, to lead the suffering world to peace and security, not by the force of deadly weapons but through understanding, justice and imaginative compassion. The way of peace requires that men and nations should recognize their common humanity and use weapons of integrity, reason, patience, understanding and love. There are many forces at work which give us hope and assurance. Even if we fail, we should not give up our efforts. Failure we have with us always, but man possesses an unconquerable self that through failure and tragedy may rise to higher reaches of spiritual victory by the transcendence of evil.

Ladies and gentlemen, our two countries are pledged to the achievement of peace, to the establishment of freedom, to the rule of law among nations, to faith in spiritual values. In spite of divergence in our material conditions, in our thought and outlook, in spite of our backwardness in many matters, we are determined to work for peace and so can work together with you and others who strive with a sense of confidence and security and lead our peoples onward to a peaceful world. We believe that world peace is the inevitable though perhaps distant consequence of the evolution of the human soul. So even if we face difficulties and discouragements, we will strive our utmost to uphold the principles of international justice. Beyond the difficulties of history there is the Reality that wills that we may grow more closely together, may understand one another better and live as members of one spiritual household.
ASIAN CIVILIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

I am happy to be here this morning and meet the delegates from many countries who have assembled here to understand one another and strive to build a new social order based on the universal Declaration of Human Rights accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1948.

While I appreciate your natural curiosity and eagerness to understand the values for which the different civilizations stand, I am not hopeful that I will deal with the subject ‘Asian Civilization’ you have prescribed for me with any adequacy. Asia covers China, Japan, India,* several Islamic countries and Israel. Each of them has its distinctive character and individuality. You will deal with some of these civilizations in the next few days.

People distinguish Asia from Europe by emphasizing the religious bent of the Asian mind and the scientific character of the European mentality. This distinction is sought to be supported by the fact that almost all the living faiths of the world arose in Asia and the marvellous scientific achievements which are the pride of modern civilization are mainly the outcome of the intellectual enterprise and penetration of the Western mind. If we take a longer view, we will find that there are great religious geniuses in the West as there are eminent scientists in the East. In his Inaugural Address which Lord Acton gave at Cambridge as Regius Professor of Modern History on June 11, 1895, he said: ‘We can found no philosophy on the observation of four hundred years, excluding three thousand. It would be an imperfect and fallacious induction.’

Religion and science, faith and reason represent different sides of human nature. Each one of us is both religious and scientific. At best it is a matter of the distribution of emphasis. With this proviso, I should like to refer briefly to the spirit of this ancient land, which is both old and young, the spirit which has dominated many parts of the East and some of the West. Angkor Vat, Borobudur and many other remains are our claim to recognition, our contribution to civilization. India is a frame of mind, an attitude of spirit, a way of life. Its religion at its best is scientific and secular, political and spiritual. How does it view life?

Address to World Assembly of Youth, New Delhi, 4 August, 1958
(1) In the cosmic evolution which has moved from matter to life, from life to animal mind, animal mind to human intelligence, the next step is the growth of human intelligence to spiritual freedom. Our intellectual consciousness should become an illumined consciousness. While in the sub-human levels, the movement has been automatic or instinctive, at the human level growth can be achieved only by conscious and deliberate effort.

(2) Man is a free being, svatantraḥ kartā. The agent is independent. There is the spark of spirit in each individual. It is the presence of spirit that gives dignity to human nature, that is the basis of democracy, that is the justification for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(3) The Orphics say that we are the children of earth and of the starry heaven. Man is a mixture of earth and heaven, of dust and deity. The spirit in us is wrapped up in many non-spiritual layers. If we are lost in the series of objective happenings, man’s freedom is unmanifested. The subject becomes an object, mindless, unthinking, unfeeling. If man recovers his subjectivity, his inwardness, he is able to control the non-spiritual and use it for spiritual ends. There is no opposition between spirit and nature. Nature can be controlled by spirit.

The purpose of religion is to help us to discipline our whole being, body, mind, heart and will. By prayer, meditation and self-control we integrate our personality.

(4) The integrated personalities, whatever religions they may profess, whatever races they may belong to, are members of a single family. All those who get to the mountain tops reach out to the stars. Such a religion is not exclusive or monopolist in character. If we get behind the social machinery, rites and customs, food habits and marriage codes, we will find that the emphasis is on spiritual awakening, moral rebornness. All religions are intertwined at the roots and meet at the summit.

(5) India has had a universality of outlook from the beginning of her history. The Rig Veda tells us that ‘the loving sage beholds that mysterious Reality wherein the universe comes to have one home.’

\[ \text{bhrātaro manujās sarve svadeśo bhuvana-trayam.} \]

All men, white and black, Hindu and Muslim, Christian and Jew are brothers and our native home is the three worlds. We should revere the things which are beyond the scope of discursive

\[ \text{venas tat paśyan nihitāṁ guhā sad yatra viśvam bhavaty eka-niḍam.} \]
knowledge, about which it is difficult to speak. Our hopes for mankind as a whole were based on the reverence they had for other people’s views. There should be no attempt to impose one’s views on others. There is a well-known verse which says:

\[
\text{uttaram yat samudrasya himādres caiva dakṣinam}
\]
\[
\text{varṣam tad bhāratam nāma bhārati yatra saṁtatiḥ.}
\]

When men of different religious persuasions assemble in this country, the spiritual leaders of the country would teach the different people their own traditions and train them in their codes of moral behaviour: \(s\text{vaṁ svaṁ caritrāṃ śikṣeran.}\) The Bhagavadgītā tells us not to engender confusion in people’s minds simply because we feel they are ignorant and attached to work.

\[na \text{ buddhi-bhedam janayed ajñānām karmanagnām.}\]

India did not adopt the philosophy of either—or. Life surmounts all contradictions not by destroying them but by weaving them into a larger, more inclusive pattern. This outlook has resulted in the peaceful co-existence of different religions in India which influence each other, though this tradition has been seriously disturbed on occasions by the proselytizing activities of certain religions.

The secular character of the Indian State emphasizes the respect which it accords to all religions which have found a home in this country. India often deviated from it and suffered as a result.

The moral and spiritual values of our civilization may possibly serve as the basis for a larger human fellowship.

You have selected for your theme: YOUTH AND PROGRESS, NEW FORCES AND NEW IDEAS. Progress is not inevitable, raising man generation by generation to new heights of wisdom and virtue. Man is capable of evil as he is capable of good.

There is nothing inevitable about the future. We do not agree with determinists like Spengler who observes that ‘the history of a culture is the exact counterpart of the history of an individual being or of an animal or of a tree or of a flower.’ Historical events are not like physical or biological happenings. In them natural conditions and spiritual forces interact. Freedom and necessity are embraced in a vital union, a living whole. Whether we will plunge into disaster or climb to undreamed of heights

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1 Manu says:

\[
etad \text{ deśa prasūtasya sakāśād agra-janmanāḥ}
\]
\[
svaṁ svaṁ caritrāṁ śikṣeran prthvīyāṁ sarvamānāvāḥ.
\]
depends on us. John Dewey declares: 'All I know about the future of progress is that it depends upon man to say whether he wants it or not.' ¹ No other destiny awaits mankind than that which it prepares for itself by its intellectual and ethical discipline.

Among the new forces which are shaping, nay altering the course of human history, the most significant is the discovery of the ways of releasing forces locked up in the nuclei of atoms. This new power can be used for good or evil. Many who see the glaring contrast between the technical advance we have made and the puerility, vulgarity, crudity and narrowness of our minds are filled with despair. We made atom bombs and used them in the last war. Hydrogen bombs have been made and could be used in another war. Scientists tell us that even nuclear tests will condemn unknown and unborn generations to abnormalities, mutilation, torture, disease and early death. The bombs which we have already in stock are enough to end life on this planet. Man's ability to destroy himself is almost complete.

Mankind is on trial. The contrast between our intellectual power and our immoral deeds has depressed thinking and sensitive people all over the world. Shortly before his death, H. G. Wells wrote: 'A frightful queerness has come into life. Hitherto events have been held together by a certain logical consistency as the heavenly bodies have been held together by the golden cord of gravitation. Now it is as if the cord had vanished, and everywhere is driven anyhow, anywhere at a steadily increasing velocity. The writer is convinced that there is no way out, or around, or through the impasse. It is the end.'²

H. G. Wells wrote before the latest developments in nuclear weapons. The great psychologist, Carl Gustav Jung tells us: 'Misguided development of the soul must lead to psychic mass destruction. The present situation is so sinister that one cannot suppress the suspicion that the Creator is planning another deluge that will finally exterminate the existing race of man.'

In Philip Toynbee's book on The Fearful Choice the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Fisher, declares that for all he knows 'it is within the providence of God that the human race should destroy itself' with nuclear weapons. He says that there was no evidence that the human race was to last for ever and there was plenty

¹ Joseph Ratner: The Philosophy of John Dewey; p. 461
² The Mind at the End of Its Tether; pp. 4-5
of evidence in the Christian scriptures to the contrary effect.¹

When moral passions are armed with nuclear weapons, we have a frightful combination and we are likely to revert not to the teaching of the compassionate Buddha or the suffering Christ but to the injunctions of the tribal God of whom it is said that he ordered his people to destroy their enemies ruthlessly. ‘Spare them not, but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass.’ This is what happened when Hiroshima, a city of 300,000 inhabitants was obliterated on 6th August, 1945, a third of its people killed and many injured. War has become more barbarous, more destructive and more debasing than ever before.

It is no answer to this dreadful possibility that we should stop scientific advance in nuclear physics. These scientific achievements are the result of our rational endowment and a part of human evolution. The search for new knowledge cannot be stopped. We have to try new ideas, new ways of life. We must make the most of our possibilities, if we are not to give place to others.

The extinction of humanity will not be the result of impersonal forces or supernatural plans. If it happens, it will be the direct result of man’s obstinacy and pride, what the Greeks called *hybris*, undisciplined love of power which have made ugly many pages of human history.

There is no need to give up hope or lose faith. We have to be creative and courageous, buoyed up by the light and love at the heart of the universe. The new world of peace, freedom and safety for all can be achieved only by those who are moved by great spiritual ideals. It is the only way to live a coherent and meaningful life in the midst of this great upheaval. What is wanted is not knowledge but charity. If our best plans miscarry, if our conferences end in deadlocks or stalemates, or communiques exchange invectives, it is because they are in the hands of people who have not suffered an inner growth. As individuals we are more humane, more compassionate than before. There is a great deal of disinterested kindness but as members of groups we are not equally unselfish or disinterested. We are filled with obsessions about ourselves and frenzied hatred of those who differ from us.

¹ Canon R. J. Collins of St. Paul’s Cathedral said that ‘it may be in the providence of God that we should blow ourselves up but this does not excuse me or the Archbishop, if we condone an evil policy, such as reliance upon nuclear weapons to defend our way of life.’
Unless we remake ourselves, all our external triumphs will not help us. What we need is not better organization but a change in direction and outlook. We may be members of the United Nations Organization but we cannot succeed so long as we are dominated by nationalistic idolatry and power politics. Our minds are confused, split, fragmentary. We should have no illusion about the blindness of human nature and the malice of the world. The self is divided. It would do the good but does not do it; it would avoid evil but is inclined by an impulse more powerful than its will toward the evil which it would avoid.¹ We pray for peace but foster strife. If in the case of the individual it is wrong to put his self-interest above the nation, so also in the case of the nation it is wrong to put the national interest above the wider good of humanity.

Here religion in a non-dogmatic sense can be of great help. Our society, battered and distraught, may emerge into a new order if we do not defy the principle ‘Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven.’ The diseases of the spirit can be cured only by the discipline of religion which requires us to adopt even in international relations the principle that we are members one of another. National leaders should envisage a larger good than the preservation of their own nations. Our minds and hearts require to be changed. We have to grow in human greatness, in humanity and goodwill.

¹ jānāmi dharmaṁ na ca me pravṛttiḥ
jānāmi adharmaṁ na ca me nivṛttiḥ. See also Romans VII.
UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE
SEVENTH SESSION, PARIS

Fellow delegates and friends, I am deeply touched by the great honour which this Conference has conferred on me, on my delegation and on my country. I refer especially to the very warm and generous words with which the Chairman of the Executive Board put my name forward. I also refer to the way in which the Head of the French delegation, the Minister of Education of France, stepped aside, waived his right and enabled this Conference to propose a representative of an Eastern country. For the first time in the General Conference you have a President from this geographical area. I am, therefore, thankful to each delegation—to the French delegation in particular—and to the Executive Board which put forward my name unanimously for this exalted position.

I have been connected with UNESCO for a number of years, ever since it was established in this beautiful and intellectual city, and I have seen the work of our Director-General. I believe very firmly that the work of UNESCO is of much greater importance than other types of work calculated to foster peace, freedom and progress. Under the inspiring and courageous leadership of our Director-General, we have now emphasized the central objectives of this Organization: freedom and progress. Freedom is easy to talk about. This morning the Leader of the American delegation, the distinguished President of last year, who had conducted the business of this Conference with such great care and consideration, said that a ‘third war can be avoided.’ I echo his sentiments. If we believe that a third war cannot be avoided, it only means that civilization has failed, education and culture have failed, UNESCO itself has failed. It is essential, therefore, that we should will not merely peace, but the conditions that are essential for securing

Presidential Address, October, 1952
peace. Mrs Jouhaux, representing I L O, expressed the hope that Human Rights would become ‘functioning, living realities’. It is a great statement. Let them become functioning, living realities. There are millions who are the victims of political power, of economic greed, of racial pride. It is not possible for them, when they are slaves to other men, to lead happy, contented lives.

No man can attain happiness in this world if he feels hungry or cold, if he is a slave to other men, if he is surrounded by filth and disease, and if he does not have the elementary necessities for ordinary life. It is essential for him to have some leisure for recreation, for reflection. How many people in this world have these facilities, which are formulated in the Declaration of Human Rights? And is it not our purpose here to work for the realization of those Human Rights? We know, as a matter of fact, that the inventions of science and technology have removed the greatest obstacles to human well-being and happiness. If only we use them for proper purposes, it will be possible for us to lead the world to a happy, safe and generous state. What is it that prevents this? It is human stupidity, it is human cussedness. How can we remove these obstacles which are in the minds of men, which prevent us from using the great instruments of science and technology for making this world a better and happier place? That is the question we all ask. We talk about penicillin, we talk about chloroform, aeroplanes and the telephone. On the other side, we have terrible weapons: atom bombs, poison gas, germs, etc. Men must use the instruments of science for the improvement of the conditions of life, for the fault is not in science and technology. What is demoniac is in the nature of man. If we wish to cure this element of vilenes, wildness, cussedness, in the nature of man, it is essential for us to mobilize the great spiritual resources of mankind. The cure for that is to restore the truths of the spirit to the central place in the minds of men. Let those truths of the spirit sway the minds of men, transform the lives of men. The truths of the spirit are liberality, understanding, freedom. Those who deny freedom in the name of freedom are no less dangerous than those who deny freedom in the name of discipline and authority. Let us, therefore, send out from this Conference a message to this groping, uncertain, discontented world: that love and not hatred, that freedom and not fear, that faith and not doubt, have in them the healing
of the nations. If we carry out these principles in our daily life and in our international relations, out of the anguish of this world will be born a new unity of mankind, a unity in which the ideals of the spirit will find safety and security. I thank you once again for the honour you have done me by electing me to this exalted position, and my thanks are real and warm.

KARNATAK UNIVERSITY

My first duty is to congratulate those who by hard work and disciplined effort obtained their degrees today. I should like to tell them that the very same qualities which they exhibited during their university careers must continue in future and I hope that they will continue.

I will be unfair to myself and to you if I should promise you glittering prizes or comfortable positions. The times ahead of us are of a very difficult character. The movements which took place in other countries during a span of centuries have all occurred here more or less simultaneously. What answer to the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution or the political Revolution—all these things have been telescoped, so to say, in these few years in our country. We have won political independence. But it is not to be regarded as giving us complete freedom. There are ever so many other things which require to be fulfilled if this first step is to be regarded as a preparation for the liberation of this great land. If we wish to follow up political revolution by a social and economic one, our universities must send out batches of scientists, technicians, engineers, agriculturists, etc. These are essential for changing the face of our country, the economic character of our society. But we should not believe that science and technology alone are enough. There are other countries, much advanced countries in the world, which have achieved marvellous progress in scientific and technological side, but yet they are torn by strife and they are unable to bring about peace, safety and security of their own people. It only shows that other qualities are also necessary besides those developed

Convocation Address, 26 October, 1953
by science and technology.

Just now a student was introduced for his Degree and he was called Doctor of Philosophy in Science. In other words science is also regarded as a branch of philosophy. The function of the universities is not merely to send out technically skilled and professionally competent men, but it is their duty to produce in them the quality of compassion, the quality which enables the individuals to treat one another in a truly democratic spirit. Our religions have proclaimed from the very beginning that each human individual is to be regarded as a spark of the Divine. *Tat tvam asi*, that art thou, is the teaching of the Upaniṣads. The Buddhists declare that each individual has in him a spark of the Divine and could become a *Bodhiśattva*. These proclamations by themselves are not enough. So long as these principles are merely clauses in the Constitution, and not functioning realities, in the daily life of the people, we are far from the ideals which we have set before ourselves. Minds and hearts of the people require to be altered. We must strive to become democratic not merely in the political sense of the term but also in the social and economic sense. It is essential to bring about this democratic change, this democratic temper, this kind of outlook by a proper study of the humanities including philosophy and religion. There is a great verse which says that in this poison tree of *saṃsāra* are two fruits of incomparable value. They are the enjoyment of great books and the company of good souls. If you want to absorb the fruits of great literature, well, you must read them, read them not as we do cricket stories but read them with concentration. Our generation in its rapid travel has not achieved the habit of reading the great books and has lost the habit of being influenced by the great classics of our country. If these principles of democracy in our Constitution are to become habits of mind and patterns of behaviour, principles which change the very character of the individual and the nature of the society, it can be done only by the study of great literature, of philosophy and religion. That is why even though our country needs great scientists, great technologists, great engineers, we should not neglect to make them humanists. While we retain science and technology we must remember that science and technology are not all. We must note the famous statement that merely by becoming literate without the development of compassion we become demoniac. So no university
can regard itself as a true university unless it sends out young men and women who are not only learned but whose hearts are full of compassion for suffering humanity. Unless that is there, the university education must be regarded as incomplete.

I have been a teacher for nearly all my adult life, for over forty years. I have lived with students and it hurts me very deeply when I find that the precious years during which a student has to live in the university are wasted by some of them. I do not say by all of them. Teachers and students form a family and in a family you cannot have the spirit of the trade union. Such a thing should be inconceivable in a university. University life is a co-operative enterprise between teachers and students and I do hope that the students will not do a disservice to themselves by resorting to activities which are anti-social in character.

Character is destiny. Character is that on which the destiny of a nation is built. One cannot have a great nation with men of small character. If we want to build a great nation, we must try to train a large number of young men and women who have character. We must have young men and women who look upon others as the living images of themselves, as our Śastras have so often declared. But whether in public life or in student life, we cannot reach great heights if we are lacking in character. We cannot climb the mountain when the very ground at our feet is crumbling. When the very basis of our structure is shaky, how can we reach the heights which we have set before ourselves? We must all have humility. Here is a country which we are interested in building up. For whatever service we take up, we should not care for what we receive. We should know how much we can put into that service. That should be the principle which should animate our young men and women. Ours is a great country. We have had for centuries a great history. The whole of the East reflects our culture. We have to represent what India taught right from the time of Mohenjo-Dāro and Harappa. Whether in domestic affairs or in international affairs we must adhere to certain standards. My advice to the young men and women who are graduating today through this University is: Mother India expects of you that your lives should be clean, noble, and dedicated to selfless work.
DELHI UNIVERSITY

MAY I at the outset express with deep sincerity my sense of obligation to the members of the Court for electing me to the high office of the Chancellor of the University? I appreciate the distinction of being your first elected Chancellor, under the provisions of the new Delhi University Act.

It gives me very great pleasure to find that the first degree which I confer as Chancellor is on my dear friend Shri C. Raja-gopalachari. We are all proud to admit him into our fellowship. He is one of our most illustrious administrators and statesmen, well known for his commonsense and courage, balance and judgement, qualities greatly needed in this confused age of conflicting standards. The young men and women who are taking their degrees today have in him an example to guide them.

It is the privilege of the Convocation speaker to congratulate those who by dint of hard work and disciplined effort have attained degrees and distinctions. My good wishes are with you and I hope very much that the qualities of mind and character which have helped you in your university courses may continue to be with you in the larger life you are entering.

We cannot offer you prospects of glittering prizes or even comfortable positions but opportunities for silent unobtrusive work and constructive service are there in plenty. It is a matter for great sorrow that there is not among our youth that sense of exhilaration, that release of energy, that buoyancy of spirit that characterize great liberation movements. Since the attainment of independence we seem to have lost the inspiration of a great purpose. Many of us do not realize how radically our position in the world has altered. At the time of the transfer of power, there were critics who felt that we would not survive the effects of partition, that our country would be broken to bits, that our administration would be disorganized, that there would be no rule of law, no security of life and property. All these critics have been confounded by the actual results. In the international world where our standing is only of six or seven years’ duration our reputation for integrity, independence and love of peace is high. I may remind you of a statement made by a distinguished visitor to this country that India would

Convocation Address, 5 December, 1953
rather die or commit suicide than submit to pressure or intimidation from any quarter. That may be so or may not be so. At least we have won the esteem of other nations. But what we have done is very little compared to the vast undone. Political freedom has given us the great opportunity and the sacred responsibility of building up a new India free from want and disease, rid of the curse of the caste and the outcaste, where women will enjoy the same rights as men and where we shall live at peace with the rest of the world. The inspiration of such an India should sustain you in your work ahead.

We are living through one of the great revolutionary periods in human history. The revolutionary efforts spread over several centuries in other parts of the world are concentrated in a short span of time in our country. We are facing a many-sided challenge, political and economic, social and cultural. Education is the means by which the youth is trained to serve the cause of drastic social and economic changes. Nations become back numbers if they do not reckon with the developments of the age.

The industrial growth of our country requires a large number of scientists, technicians and engineers. The rush in our universities for courses in science and technology is natural. Men trained in these practical courses help to increase productivity, agricultural and industrial. They also hope to find employment easily. To help the students to earn a living is one of the functions of education, *arthakari ca vidyā*.

I do not believe that scientific and technological studies are devoid of moral values. Science is both knowledge and power. It has interest as well as utility. It is illuminating as well as fruitful. It demands disciplined devotion to the pursuit of truth. It develops in its votaries an attitude of tolerance, open-mindedness, freedom from prejudice and hospitality to new ideas. Science reveals to us the inexhaustible richness of the world, its unexpectedness, its wonder.

Nevertheless, these qualities are developed by science incidentally and not immediately. It does not directly deal with the non-intellectual aspects of human nature. Economic man who produces and consumes, the intellectual man, the scientific man is not the whole man. The disproportionate emphasis on science and technology has been causing concern to thinking men all over the world. The great crimes against civilization are committed
not by the primitive and the uneducated but by the highly educated and the so-called civilized. One recalls the saying that the most civilized State is no farther from barbarism than the most polished steel is from rust. Scientists have now found means by which human life can be wiped off the surface of this planet. Of the many problems that now face the leaders of the world, none is of graver consequence than the problem of saving the human race from extinction. Struggling as we are with the fateful horizons of an atomic age, the achievements of science have induced in our minds a mood of despair making us feel homeless exiles caught in a blind machine. We are standing on the edge of an abyss or perhaps even sliding towards it. The Prime Minister of England in a recent speech contemplated: ‘We and all nations stand at this hour in human history before the portals of supreme catastrophe and measureless reward. Our faith is that in God’s mercy we shall choose aright, in which case the annihilating character of these agencies may bring unutterable security to the human mind.’ To choose aright requires the cultivation of the heart and the intelligence. Escape from decline and catastrophe depends not on scientific ideas and material forces but on the perceptions and ideas of men and women, on the moral judgements of the community. If we choose rightly, the achievements of science may lead to such a degree of material wealth and abundance of leisure as has never before been possible in human history. All this will be possible only if we achieve a revolution in the inner compulsions that control us.

Any satisfactory system of education should aim at a balanced growth of the individual and insist on both knowledge and wisdom, jñānam vijñāna-sahitam. It should not only train the intellect but bring grace into the heart of man. Wisdom is more easily gained through the study of literature, philosophy, religion. They interpret the higher laws of the universe. If we do not have a general philosophy or attitude of life, our minds will be confused, and we will suffer from greed, pusillanimity, anxiety and defeatism. Mental slums are more dangerous to mankind than material slums.

Independent thinking is not encouraged in our world today. When we see a cinema, we think very fast to keep up with rapid changes of scene and action. This rapidity which the cinema gives its audiences and demands from them has its own effect on the mental development. If we are to be freed from the debilitating effects and the nervous strain of modern life, if we are to be
saved from the assaults which beat so insistently on us from the screen and the radio, from the yellow press and demagogy, defences are to be built in the minds of men, enduring interests are to be implanted in them. We must learn to read great classics which deal with really important questions affecting the life and destiny of the human race. We must think for ourselves about these great matters but thinking for oneself does not mean thinking in a vacuum, unaided, all alone. We need help from others, living or dead. We need help from the great of all ages, the poets, 'the unacknowledged legislators of the world', the philosophers, the creative thinkers, the artists. Whereas in sciences we can be helped only by the contemporaries, in the humanities, help comes from the very great, to whatever age and race they may belong. At the deepest levels of existence, in the intimations of the nature of the Supreme, and the economy of the universe, in the insights into the power and powerlessness of man, the changing scene of history has its focus. The events of history reflect the events in the souls of men.

If this country has survived all the changes and chances it has passed through, it is because of certain habits of mind and conviction which our people, whatever their race or religion may be, share and would not surrender. The central truth is that there is an intimate connection between the mind of man and the moving spirit of the universe. We can realize it through the practice of self-control and the exercise of compassion. These principles have remained the framework into which were fitted lessons from the different religions that have found place in this country. Our history is not modern. It is like a great river with its source back in silence. Many ages, many races, many religions have worked at it. It is all in our blood stream. The more Indian culture changes, the more it remains the same. The power of the Indian spirit has sustained us through difficult times. It will sustain us in the future if we believe in ourselves. It is the intangibles that give a nation its character and its vitality. They may seem unimportant or even irrelevant under the pressure of daily life. Our capacity for survival in spite of perils from outside matched only by our own internal feuds and dissensions is due to our persistent adherence to this spirit. If our young men are to live more abundantly, they should enter more fully into the experience and ideals of the race, they should be inspired in their minds and hearts by the great ideas enshrined in our culture.
Inattention to our culture in our universities is to no small extent responsible for the increasing unrest among students. In recent weeks the lawless activities of some students in some parts of the country filled us with shame and sorrow and I have had occasion to refer to them and tell the students that by these acts of defiance of authority, they do a national disservice and imperil the future of the country, that they are traitors to the past and enemies of the future. Today I propose to point out what we should do to improve the atmosphere in the universities. Students are not trained to approach life's problems with the fortitude, self-control and sense of balance which our new conditions demand. Without this disciplined enthusiasm for great causes, students become a danger to themselves and to society as a whole. This approach is encouraged by a study of our classics. I hope that the universities will pay greater attention to this side of education.

A university is essentially a corporation of teachers and students. The relations between the two have been of a sacred character. The kind of education that we provide for our youth is determined overwhelmingly by the kind of men and women we secure as teachers. Magnificent buildings and equipment are no substitute for the great teacher. Every attempt should be made to draw a good proportion of the best ability in the country into the teaching profession. If this country is to participate in the march of mind in science and scholarship, universities must recruit for their staff some of the best minds of the country. The university teacher should be helped to live in comfort, if he is to devote himself to learning, teaching and research. As the young recruits to the universities are paid low salaries, they fail to appreciate intellectual values and get interested in writing textbooks or obtaining examinerships. I hope the University Service will become as attractive as the all-India Services, for that is the only way to recruit and retain some of the ablest persons for the universities. As the example of the teacher has great influence on the pupils, we cannot evade our responsibility to the teaching profession. A more enlightened public attitude is essential.

Besides, our colleges have increased their numbers regardless of the fact that competent teachers are not employed to deal with these increased numbers. It is impossible for the students to get adequate academic tuition or moral guidance. Some of the educational institutions have become commercialized and adopt the shift
Addressing the Seventh General Conference of UNESCO, Paris. 1952

Delivering the Convocation Address at the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, February 1954
With Mr Louis St. Laurent.
New Delhi, February 1954

Inaugurating the UNESCO Round Table Conference on Teaching of Social Sciences in South Asia, Delhi, February 195-
With Dr Helen Keller, New Delhi, February 1955

Inaugurating the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, March 1954
system as in the factories. If the results are unfortunate, we have ourselves to blame. There is nothing wrong with our students. What is wrong is the system.

Living conditions in the universities leave much to be desired. True education needs conversation and debate, exchange of opinions and thoughts with friends with whom we can speak and listen easily, sympathetically and without fear. But are the opportunities for these adequate? Again, there is no adequate provision for games and other corporate activities. There is no reason why students who are physically fit should not be encouraged to join the National Cadet Corps in larger numbers. Membership of the Corps fosters habits of discipline, teamwork and dignity of labour.

I regret to say that the schemes of development adopted by the Centre and the States do not pay adequate attention to this most important of all problems, the education of the youth of the country. Our whole experiment in democracy will suffer if education is not given top priority. The future leadership of the country will be imperilled if university education is allowed to deteriorate for lack of financial support.

Character is destiny. This maxim applies to individuals, as well as to nations. We cannot build rightly with wrong materials. More than your intellectual ability or technical skill, what makes you valuable to society is your devotion to a great cause. We have great natural resources, intelligent men and women and if in addition we learn to work together with pride and a spirit of dedication in the sacred cause of rebuilding our country, no one can prevent us from achieving our goal. Our future destiny as a nation depends on our spiritual strength rather than upon our material wealth: nāyam ātmā balahīnena labhyāḥ. The goal of perfection cannot be achieved by the weak, not the weak in body, but the weak in spirit, ātma-niṣṭhā-janita-viryahīnena. The greatest asset of a nation is the spirit of its people. If we break the spirit of a people, we imperil their future; if we develop the power of spirit, our future will be bright.

prasāraya dharma-dhvajam
prapūraya dharma-śankham
pratāḍaya dharma-dundubhim
dharmam kuru, dharmam kuru,
dharmam kuru.
PUNJAB UNIVERSITY

I am happy to be here and speak to you a few words on this important occasion of the sixth Annual Convocation of the Punjab University. I offer my congratulations to the graduates of the year who, by strenuous work and disciplined effort, have attained their degrees, and some of whom have achieved distinctions also.

Your University has had to face many difficulties of an unexpected character. After partition you had to improvise practically a new university, shifting your teaching departments to different centres and starting new professional institutions. Naturally your colleges have suffered from over-crowding, bad housing, ill-equipped and inadequate staff. These difficulties affect the maintenance of high standards. Yet the work which you have done in very difficult circumstances must be to you a matter of pride and satisfaction.

I hope that in the new capital, whose building has attracted attention far and wide, the University will have its permanent headquarters with enough accommodation for its growing needs. Your Chancellor has had great interest in university education and his experience will be of considerable help to you in your attempts to develop the teaching side and exercise adequate supervision over the affiliated colleges. Buildings and equipment are not all. Good teachers who are interested in the welfare of the students, who have enthusiasm for their subjects and are able to impart it to the pupils—they form the central framework of a university. Our commercial-minded generation reserves its respect for those who make money and so the best ability is drawn into administration, business and the learned professions. We have to realize that the kind of education we provide for our children is determined overwhelmingly by the kind of men and women we secure as teachers. The low esteem in which teachers are held is the most eloquent evidence of the malady from which our society suffers. We must get the right type of men for the teaching profession, and not the incompetent and the unambitious. Respect for the teachers cannot be ordered. It must be earned.

The next few years will be a testing time, more severe and more exacting than we have known for many years. Political

Convocation Address, 19 December, 1953
freedom which we won at much cost and sacrifice is only an opportunity. It is not a fulfilment. If we are to develop a strong democracy, political, social and economic, it is necessary for us to work hard and work unitedly. The ideal imposes on us a sacred responsibility. Men are not made democratic by the mere formulation of ideals in the Constitution. They are not made good by mere exhortation. Great ideals of justice, equality, fraternity and freedom which we have inscribed in our Constitution must be woven into the social fabric. We must apply them to the myriad situations of our daily life. Unfortunately, the state of mind in which we found ourselves at the time of political liberation is not marked by revolutionary fervour. The spirit of enjoyment has prevailed over the spirit of sacrifice. We seem to demand more than what we give. There is much evidence of low morale, dissatisfaction and discontent among people, all leading to serious slackness. We must overcome the spiritual sickness which seems to be enfeebling our community. If we do not change our minds, we cannot change anything.

A nation is built in its educational institutions. We have to train our youth in them. We have to impart to them the tradition of the future. Through all the complexities and diversities of race and religion, language and geography, the forces which have made our people into a nation and which alone can keep them one are being shaped. These do not belong to the material sphere. The unity is not one of physical geography, it belongs to the realm of ideas. It is a matter for men's minds and hearts. Our country has suffered when internal dissensions predominated and central unity declined. We used to complain that those who ruled us for centuries adopted the principle of divide and rule. At any rate it is true that our subjection was due to our divisions. We must therefore guard ourselves against separatist tendencies of language, religion and province. It is in the universities that we should develop a corporate feeling and a feeling of social purpose. Our universities must give inspiration to a generation which stands in sore need of it.

In the different branches of our planning effort we require trained men and it is for the universities to supply them. Naturally young people wish to get trained in scientific, technological and professional courses. Many of the changes that have transformed our daily lives, our hopes and ideals for the future are the results
of the dominating role which science has come to play in our lives. No such radical changes have ever before occurred in so brief a period of our history. But an exclusive or one-sided emphasis on scientific studies results in grave disadvantages. Power and wealth begin to exercise a kind of intoxication on the minds of men. We wish to get on and succeed. Other ends are subordinated to this one end of achieving greater wealth and higher social status. The desire to get on is a laudable ambition provided it does not exclude other more laudable ambitions. Our future welfare and destiny as a nation will depend more on our spiritual strength than on our material wealth.

Scientific progress is precarious and conditional. If we are only learned without being truly cultured, we become a danger to society, sa-akṣaro viparitāte rākṣaso bhavati dhiruvam—he who is literate, when inverted becomes a demon. There is an observation of Aristotle which is akin to this saying:

Man when perfected is the best of animals, but, when separated from law and justice, he is the worst of all; since armed injustice is the more dangerous, and he is equipped at birth with arms meant to be used by intelligence and virtue which he may use for the worst ends. Wherefore if he have not virtue, he is the most unholy and the most savage of animals.

In the international scene, the crisis which confronts us is the gravest in the whole of recorded history. We are armed with the weapons of modern science and the techniques of modern psychology, without ourselves being redeemed from greed, selfishness and love of power. We have increased our power over nature, but not over ourselves. Science and technology are not a cure for selfishness nor a key to the mystery of the universe. Our progress can be secure only in an atmosphere of confidence, hope and security. President Eisenhower in his recent speech to the United Nations General Assembly on the eighth of this month called for means, 'to hasten the day when fear of the atom will begin to disappear from the minds of the people and the Governments of the East and the West.' Before making his appeal to the peoples of the world to co-operate in this great venture and pledging the United States 'to devote its entire heart and mind to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death but consecrated to his life,' he spent a few minutes in the meditation room of the U.N. building. To make a new start we need a new approach. Respect for the basic values of spirit is the only antidote to the distempers of our society, social, economic
and political. We must recognize that there is something in man that hungers and thirsts after righteousness. If sheer confusion dominates the scene and we live in an age of anxiety and greed, it is because our training has been one-sided. It is wrong to assume that the only means required for the betterment of mankind are more and more of scientific discovery and technological improvement.

It is through the study of the great classics of the world that we grow in our spirit. The basis of democracy is the central principle of all religions, that there is an intimate connection between the mind of man and the moving spirit of the universe. This principle of democracy must become an effective faith. In our educational institutions, we can train our young men and women in the spirit of democracy. We must increase wealth, reduce inequalities and raise the standards of the common man. Let the bright image of a new India where we will be free socially and economically break through the fogs of fear and ignorance, self-interest and superstition.

The importance of education is not only in knowledge and skill, but it is to help us to live with others. Co-operative and mutually helpful living is what we should be trained for. Moral qualities are of greater value than intellectual accomplishments. We have in our country great natural resources, intelligent men and women and if in addition we learn to work together with pleasure, with pride, with a sense of duty in the sacred task of rebuilding our country, no one can prevent us from reaching our goal. The Buddha says: 'None else compels, ye suffer from yourselves.' If our institutions give our young men character and democratic discipline, the future of our country is safe. Dharma is what holds society together.

*dharmā eva hato hanti, dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ.*

**MEERUT COLLEGE DIAMOND JUBILEE**

It is appropriate that we remember all those who worked for the last sixty years to make this College what it is today. I am happy to find here Dr Sita Ram, Principal Chatterjee, and others

_Inaugural Address, 20 December, 1953_
who must feel proud of their work for the College. It has been steadily growing and it has today over 4,000 students, a number of departments, teaching and research. Naturally you have an ambition to make it into a university. It is true that in our Report we said that if finances were adequate and if academic responsibility was undertaken, this College may be enabled to grow into a university. But these two conditions are essential—financial solvency and academic adequacy or soundness. Mere change of name will not make a college into a university. Universities which have developed without sound financial backing have acquiesced in academically unsatisfactory practices. With ill-equipped and inadequate staff, the students do not get proper academic tuition or moral guidance. For over 4,000 students you have now 135 teachers and this cannot be regarded as adequate. You must lay stress on quality rather than on quantity. You must be able to get on your staff men noted for their learning and scholarship, men who do not merely teach but are eager to make additions to knowledge. The profession of the teacher should not be reduced to a trade. It is a calling, a vocation, a mission. It is the duty of teachers to make pupils good citizens of the new democracy. They must impart to the students zest for new experience, love for adventure in knowledge.

A university should give a universal outlook. When students pursue different courses, meet together in a common fellowship, when they enter into the society of good and great men, they enlarge their lives and characters. If we are not interested in the high matters of the fundamentals of science and philosophy, we are not truly educated. We must preserve the basic values of our own cultural heritage without losing the momentum which science and technology give to human progress.

If a man does not come to terms with his own self, if he has not an integrated view of life, he will become ruthless, destructive, even insane. He will be a lost spirit. In our conceit, we are losing faith in the ultimate values and attempting to live outside the dimension of spirit, to close the frontiers of the ancient hidden mysteries. We are uprooted, homeless, half-mad with fear and pride. The magic of life is fading and we find it more and more difficult to find the real value and the flavour of life.

Today we must struggle not so much against death and disease as against man's oppression of man, against the injustice
and tyranny that make life so tragic and liberty so hard to preserve.  
In our philosophy of life we have the fundamentals on which a 
new world society can be built.  
When it is said that we are a secular State, it does not mean 
that we have an indifference to tradition or irreverence for religion.  
I hope that in this College, whether it is a college or a university, 
these fundamental values of spirit will be preserved.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, WALTAIR

THOUGH the subject of my special study is not history, you 
have been good enough to ask me to inaugurate this Congress.  
Just as memory is the principal factor in the sense of personal 
identity an individual possesses, even so history is the memory 
which a nation possesses. In spite of continual changes in our 
bodily cells and mental processes, each one is aware of himself 
as the same person from birth to death. This is so largely because 
of the persistence of memory. History is the cause of the nation’s 
persistent identity. It is that which links the past, the present 
and the future. By connecting the past with the present, we per- 
ceive the continuity and solidarity of the ages.

It is our duty therefore to undertake a systematic account of our 
history, an account which is objective and dispassionate. I know 
that this Historical Congress has undertaken such an account. 
Writers of history should remember what Mallinātha, the renowned 
commentator, has said:

\[ na amūlam likhyate kīncit \\
na anapeksitam ucyate. \]

Nothing is written here without authority; nothing is said here 
which is irrelevant.

There are some historians who wish to be showmen, anxious to 
make an appeal to the public. To make an effect they sometimes 
distort facts or adorn tales; there are others who are concerned 
with accuracy. There is no incompatibility between accuracy and 
appeal. To secure both requires learning, intelligence and imagina-
tion. The late Lord Balfour described Sir Winston Churchill’s

Inaugural Address, 29 December, 1953
World Crisis as ‘Winston’s brilliant autobiography disguised as a history of the universe’.

It is generally said that the only lesson of history is that we learn nothing from it. This is a warning. By a proper study of history, we can learn a great deal from it. Our steady and endless struggle for truth stretches back to the fountain-springs of human thought. The passage of several thousand years sees not much change in our general character, its strength as well as its weakness. Centuries of foreign rule and endless oppression leave us still an active force in the world though quarrelling among ourselves with insatiable vivacity.

We must instruct our boys and girls in schools and colleges in the historical sequence of events in the past. We must treat with scientific detachment and accuracy the circumstances which marked the decline and fall of governments in India. Never were we in greater need of objective and scholarly study of our past history and present condition. We must strive to determine the great fundamentals which govern a peaceful progression towards a constantly higher level of civilization and the forces that impede it. Your President-elect, Dr Kāne, has given us in his monumental work Dharma Śāstra a historical account of our social life. He enjoins on us a cordial but critical devotion to the ideals which inspired our minds and hearts across the centuries.

A fundamental lack of national coherence has been our grave defect. We complained against the British rule that it attempted to divide us and rule us. But what are we doing today to heal the divisions?

It is no use acquiescing in the evils of society on the assumption that historical processes dictate the pattern of society, that men are not in control of events, that events are in control of men and the course of history. When Germany plunged into Nazism, the classic excuse of the German was: ‘What could I do, I am only a little man.’ This is a retreat from responsibility. There is no doubt that man’s freedom of action is limited. He does not work in a vacuum. Social conditions, environmental pressures, what are called historic forces, influence him. But he can set his face in the right direction or the wrong.

There are some philosophers of history who argue that there is a sense of inevitability about the historical sequence. The late Mr H. A. L. Fisher did not agree with the determinist view
of history. In the preface to his *History of Europe*, he writes: One intellectual excitement has, however, been denied me. Men wiser and more learned than I have discerned in history a plot, a rhythm, a pre-determined pattern. These harmonies are concealed from me. I can see only one emergency following upon another as wave follows upon wave, only one great fact with respect to which, since it is unique, there can be no generalizations, only one safe rule for the historian, that he should recognize in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen.

There are many historical developments which justify Fisher's observation. In the last war the Allies swore lasting friendship for Soviet Russia and hostility to Germany. They vowed a Punic peace. Germany like Carthage should be ploughed up, cursed and sown with salt. Now Russia and the Allies are in opposite camps and Germany is a friend of the Allies. One can only feel something like awe at the waywardness of history, with her fantastic turns and twists. This waywardness, this contingency, is the result of the free will of man.

The age we live in threatens world-wide catastrophe. It also holds out unexpected hope and promise. Man must take charge of events on a world-wide scale. He should cease to be a helpless mechanical puppet and become a wakeful, responsible, truly creative being. Where freedom is absent, history is fate. As people who possess faith in human dignity, we must not passively wait for a world order of peace but we must strive actively to bring the nations into the ways of peace. It is easy to drift into a fatalistic attitude that nothing can be done and we must await helplessly the catastrophe which will destroy civilization. We must not only envisage the horrors of war but work with all our might to raise barriers against it. We must work for peace not merely because of the fear of the consequences of war but from the conviction that war and all that leads to it are a defiance of justice and humanity.

History can serve as a strong force for international co-operation. It must bring into proper focus the great heroes who have stressed the dignity and the brotherhood of man. History is not merely the story of squabbles long since dead. It is also an account of the struggles of man to achieve higher standards of living, justice, peace and security. The victories of peace should be described and not merely the horrors of war. History must be used to develop an understanding of the cultures of the other nations of the world.
The New Year must be both a challenge and a message of hope to the millions whose lives are overshadowed by the threat of another war. It should summon us to further the cause of peace by being men of peace ourselves. The best plans are destroyed by ambition, hate and greed. Let us rid ourselves of these passions and realize that the Will which controls the universe is not power and majesty but love and peace.

I have pleasure in inaugurating your meetings and I wish you success in your deliberations.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

BOMBAY

I am delighted to be here and be associated with the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Indian Historical Research Society, which was founded by Father Heras in 1926. Though it started as the Post-Graduate Department of St. Xavier's College, under the inspiring leadership of Father Heras, it has functioned as more than a mere College Society and served the needs of the country in historical research and scholarship. The Institute has been planned with great care and attention to detail. You have a Library, a Museum, a Numismatic Collection, Manuscripts, Photographs and Sculptures. The list of theses prepared in the Institute is an impressive one. The Commemoration Volume pays a well-deserved tribute to the excellent work done by Fr. Heras as a historian and guide and friend of other history workers. He has himself written a number of works of great value on a variety of subjects, Aśoka, Akbar, the Pallavas, and has been for the last twenty years working on a matter of considerable importance to the world—Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture. We are indeed greatly indebted to him for his scholarly contributions and the way in which he has helped workers in this field.

History is not a mere series of intrigues and aggressions, furies and devastations, pillages and conquests organized by kings and rulers, despots and dictators. This is not the whole story. We should not be satisfied with the deeds and misdeeds of our emperors.
and statesmen, the dates of their births and deaths, their triumphs and defeats. There is the cultural history, the social history, and the history of the sciences. In a true sense history is a struggle of man to reach beyond himself, to approximate to the ideal of freedom and of human concord. Rightly studied it should not breed hatred among nations. It must look upon nations, great and small, as participants in a common enterprise, some fortunate in their undertakings, others restricted in their efforts, unequal in their contributions but equal in their desire and will for peace and progress. History should teach us how nations gave to each other and took from each other. In that way it must prepare us for the future order.

Man, as he is, is not to be regarded as the crowning glory of evolution. The story of life on earth goes back to a thousand million years. In each geological period there have appeared creatures which might have been represented as the highest types of creation. Yet those forms of life have been superseded by others. When we look at the steady climb of life on the path of evolution, it is presumptuous to assume that man, the latest product, is the last word or the final crowning glory, and with his arrival the steps of evolution have come to a sudden end. If the past is any clue to the future, we cannot regard mankind as anything more than a stage in life’s progress, and a mile-stone on the path of evolution towards a greater future. The next stage is not in his physique but in his psyche, in his mind and spirit, in the emergence of a larger understanding and awareness, in the development of a new integration of character adequate to the new age. When he gains a philosophic consciousness and an intensity of understanding, a profound apprehension of the meaning of the whole, there will result a more adequate social order which will influence not only individuals but peoples and nations. We have to fight for this order first in our own souls, then in the world outside. This means that man must purge himself of his intolerance, his love of power.

Progress is not a law of nature. To say that history is the product of the automatic operation of impersonal forces, mechanical nature, or economic production is wrong. Human effort is the method by which our needs are realized. Hegel, Marx, Spengler suggest a kind of inevitability of history. Spengler, for example, traces an analogy between the life-cycle of a living organism and that of a culture. They are born, have a youth, mature, grow
old and die. History is a creative process, a meaningful pattern. It is brought about by the spirit in man. While external conditions determine our progress to a large extent, they are not completely coercive. Machanistic fatalism is drawing mankind near to the abyss of self-destruction. We must realize that the human individual is capable of transcending conditions and controlling them. Human beings are not mechanical entities. If they were so, their future would be completely predictable. But they are creative human spirits.

History advances by jumps, not always by gradual changes. It was a characteristic error of the past to count on gradual evolution, to presume that in the advances of history, as in the biological world, spontaneous realities emerge suddenly and in a sense without preparation. History proceeds very often by jumps which we call revolutions.

There is a well-known saying that the only thing we learn from history is that we learn nothing from it. This is a comment not on history but on human stupidity. If we are careful we can learn a great deal from history. Our past history demonstrates that we failed whenever our centre weakened, when internal dissensions became prominent, when famine and disease were allowed to spread, when administration became unclean and corrupt. These indicate the great need for warding off the forces that are subversive of stable order. Contemporary history also reinforces this truth. Russia before the October Revolution, Germany in the period of economic depression which brought Hitler to power after the practical wiping out of the middle classes, China in the forties and more recently Egypt—they demonstrate that when selfish leaders develop vested interests in the administration, national discords arise, economic development is checked and revolutions occur. We find today in our country in spite of the attainment of independence and the many impressive achievements, a wide-spread sense of dissatisfaction and frustration. If these things are to be removed and if the young men and women are to be persuaded to enlist themselves in the work of internal consolidation and development, it is essential to emphasize national unity, rapid economic development and a pure, clean and honest administration. We must put down the forces that impair our national unity, retard our economic progress, whether these forces come from the rich or the poor, the capitalist or the labourer, and endeavour to
raise standards of efficiency and honesty in our administration. National unity, economic reconstruction and good government are the needs of the hour. I hope that these ends will be kept in view by our leaders and people.

We are living in days of destiny. What happens in our country in the next few years will determine not only the future of our land but of a large part of the world. This is not a time for faint-heartedness. We must avoid the deadly sin of cynicism, of despair. However rugged the obstacles that confront us may be, we must face them with honesty and seriousness and push on. That is the warning of history.

SAUGAR UNIVERSITY

I offer my congratulations and good wishes to the candidates who have taken their degrees and won distinctions. It is my fervent hope that the equipment of mind and the habits of discipline which these degrees and distinctions symbolize may continue to be with them in their future lives.

You are fortunate in living today in a Free India which requires for its full development every able-bodied citizen who can serve the country without thinking of his own personal reward or suitable status. I know that it is easy to say that work is its own reward, but workers should also live, and if their work is to be satisfactory, they must be enabled to live in comfortable conditions. Our Governments, Central and Provincial, should devise rapidly methods of employing all available talent. If we are unable to give employment even to our educated youth they become neurotic and dissatisfied with the existing economic order. Full employment and social security are treated today as the true tests of real democracy. This view is not unknown to us. In a Kalinga Edict, Aśoka writes:

All men are my children. Just as I desire on behalf of my own children that they should be provided with all manner of comfort in this as well as in the other world, similarly I desire the same for all people.

In this University you have conditions which make it possible to develop true university life. You do not suffer from over-

Convocation Address, 11 February, 1954
crowding. I am glad that you pay attention to research work. No teacher can inspire his students or win their respect if he is not himself interested in extending the frontiers of knowledge. The ability to teach pupils, to teach themselves, to inspire students to new lines of enquiry is a rare gift. The work and reputation of a university depend on the presence of such teachers.

The Government of India are considering ways and means by which conditions in the universities can improve. They wish to assist you in building hostels, providing playgrounds and, more than all, raising the status and salary conditions of the teachers. But no teacher deserves consideration if he does not love his subject and care for the intellectual and moral development of the students. It is teachers who have no academic interests but are ambitious for power and position in the university administration that start intrigues and party spirit. Factionalism has been the curse of our public life and I fervently hope that this University is free from it. Teachers in colleges and universities require to be selected with great care, and when once they are recruited, they should be treated with consideration.

When I last visited this University with my colleagues of the University Education Commission, Dr Hari Singh Gour was the Vice-Chancellor. This University owes its existence to his inspiration and munificence. In these days when we are money-mad, his example that wealth is to be used for public good and not for private advantage cannot be over-estimated. Dr Gour believed in the rights of reason. He was anxious that we should develop a scientific frame of mind, a rational outlook on life. He was deeply distressed by a good deal of superstition and obscurantism that pass for religion in our country. He felt that the social prejudices and religious superstitions which our people adopted in blind, unthinking trust were mainly responsible for our degradation, political and economic. Even our ancient writers protested against the abuse of religion. Look at the following verse:

vrksan chitva, pasun hatva
krtva rudhira-kardamam
yady evam gamyate svargam
narakam kena gamyate.

If one can go to heaven by cutting trees, killing animals and making blood to flow, how, pray, can one go to hell? This verse is a condemnation of practices repugnant to one’s conscience but as
sumed to be permitted by religion. India was never conquered from without; she was defeated from within. It is the unexamined life that led to our suffering.

Dr Gour believed in education which is the means for the spread of scientific habits of mind, social reform and spiritual outlook. It would please his soul if those who are trained in this University acquire sane outlook and democratic behaviour.

Dr Gour felt that the inspiration for the renewed life should be spiritual, as his respect for Buddhism on which he wrote an important work indicates. The crisis of our time lies in our acquisition of vast new powers over the world of nature without acquiring any more power over ourselves. The problem facing us is: why has not man grown in moral character as well as in intellectual power? Why is he obsessed by unrelenting hatreds and unceasing fears? Flight from spiritual life accounts partly for the frenzy of our time. We suffer today not so much from the split atom as from the split mind. Intoxicated by the achievements of science we seem to believe in the supremacy of man.

śvaroham aham bhogī siddhoham balavān sukhī.

There is a lack of humility, a lack of reverence for the ideals, grace of mind and charity of heart. There is only the will to power which assumes many forms. We exalt our views into ideologies and think that the world could be saved only by the acceptance of this or that way of life. The spirit of reason will tell us that we should avoid extremes of ideology and of action and return from excess to moderation. The Buddha showed us the middle path which avoids the extremes of self-assertion and self-denial. To induce the right attitude of life we must refine the minds, the tastes and the manners of our youth. We must make them adopt the principle of all great religions: ‘Be not overcome of evil but overcome evil with good.’

While we expect the Governments to tackle the problems of illiteracy, unemployment, etc., we expect the universities to fight the evils which matter most—hatred, malice, idleness, mutual distrust and love of domination. These sap our national strength and are often not assuaged but inflamed by some of our leaders. That is why we wish to protect the universities from encroachments by outside political agencies.

We must train the young to the best possible all-round living, individual and social. We must make them intelligent and good.
They must learn to observe spontaneously those unwritten laws of decency and honour felt by good men but not enforced by any statute.

I am happy to note that courses in science and the humanities are prescribed for all in this University to promote a balanced education and avoid the evils of narrow specialization. It is by the study of the great classics that we can improve our taste and civilize our behaviour. We must all strive to make this country a true democracy, a vast family where every member retains his personality, but all hearts beat in unison. The Rg Veda concludes with a prayer asking us to develop unity of purpose, of heart and of understanding:

\[ \text{samāno va ākūtīḥ, samānā hṛdayāni vah} \]
\[ \text{samānam astu vo mano yathā vah susahāsatī.}^{1} \]

It is this spirit which should sustain us. Calamities may be inflicted by others, but no nation can be degraded but by itself. Outsiders may inflict injury on us but they cannot bring us shame. Dishonour comes only from ceasing to remain faithful to oneself. There is no material suffering from which one cannot rise if only one maintains one’s spirit of self-reliance which is the source of all real greatness.

You are a young University and you have yet to build up sound traditions. May it be given to you to contribute a little to this task by your own qualities of intellectual integrity and active sympathy, prajñā and karuṇā.

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**TEACHING OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN SOUTH ASIA**

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Round Table Conference on the Teaching of Social Sciences in South Asia. May I offer to the representatives of the seven participating countries and other delegates to the Conference a cordial welcome on behalf of the Government and the people of this country and also of UNESCO, of which I happen now to be the General President?

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\(^1\text{X}^{182}\)

Inaugural Address at the UNESCO Round Table Conference, 15 February, 1954
This Conference is called in pursuance of the resolution 3.141 of the Seventh Session of the General Conference, which reads: 'The Director-General is authorized to encourage social science teaching in Universities and Secondary Schools emphasizing the contribution that such teaching can make to human progress and to education for living in a world community.'

The first two topics proposed for discussion are, to my mind, of great importance. What are the disciplines which belong to the group of the Social Sciences and what is the unity binding them? Social Sciences include Economics, Political Science, Sociology, Social Anthropology, and Social Psychology. There is adequate justification for giving greater attention to Social Sciences than we used to do till now. For, Social Sciences help us to understand the society in which we live, the basic needs of human beings, the economic arrangements and the political forms. Even as every educated citizen should have some knowledge of the material world in which he lives, it is equally important that he should have some knowledge of the society in which he lives.

Certain basic needs are essential factors of human behaviour at all times, the need for security, for tradition, for religion. But the forms in which these needs are expressed are capable of great variation from time to time, from place to place. Again, political theories are based on views about the psychology of man. Hobbes, for example, began his political theory with a psychological doctrine of the nature of man. His despotic State was devised for a fear-driven humanity. Locke and his followers advocated political freedom and non-intervention by Government on the assumption that man was naturally good and self-improving and his economic activities generally tended to help society. The conflicting ideologies today are also based on conflicting views of the nature of man.

There is a danger that a scientific view of social phenomena may incline us to a determinist view of history which looks upon social growth as obedience to certain laws. Vico proclaims that history is a regular alternation between progress and regression. St. Simon looks upon history as a series of oscillations between organic and creative periods. Marx holds that history is a succession of economic systems, each violently replacing its predecessor. These views raise the age-old problem whether man makes history or history makes man. Great historical figures may be products
of their time, but by their individual genius they alter the climate of thought, incite revolutions, change the structure of society and start new epochs. The way in which Marx and Rousseau influenced the course of history is an illustration of it.

Man is not body and mind alone. He has, in addition, the spiritual dimension. As long as the nature of man is interpreted by sciences, natural and social, and his life and world are shaped according to these concepts, the essentially free spirit of man is overlooked, and yet it is this free spirit that accounts for the waywardness and the unpredictability of history. When the late H. A. L. Fisher remarked that he saw no plot, rhythm, of predetermined pattern in history, but only the play of the contingent and the unseen, he was referring to the free activity of human beings. Man is a moral agent who can determine his behaviour. He can grow by the exercise of his will. If a human being loses his creativity and becomes an item in an anonymous crowd, the knowledge which he now possesses through science and technology may choke him and the power he now commands may wipe him out. But he can control the knowledge and use the power he now has if he has a sense of values and does not betray his own creativity in his love for routine. This brings us to the question of human values.

The study of Social Sciences will bring us nearer the goal of human progress to some extent, as every increase of knowledge will do. But the main objective of human progress and living in a world community, which the General Conference resolution states, requires something more than science, natural or social. Disciplines which deal with values like Ethics, Philosophy and Religion are essential for promoting the ideals of good life and world community.

Agricultural sciences and industrial arts can increase our productivity. But they do not tell us what we should do with increased wealth and leisure. Economics, Politics and Jurisprudence can frame good laws and define fundamental rights, but they do not by themselves bring about a good society. The knowledge of Social Sciences in the hands of men whose values are chaotic is not a help. The marvellous achievements of natural sciences in recent years gave rise to the impression that human progress would be automatically secured with the rapid advance of science and technology. This view was shattered after the experiences of the two World Wars. Never before has scientific
progress been so general and intensive and never before has intolerance been so savage and civilization so fragile.

It is argued that the balance between the increase of power over nature and the lack of control over oneself may be restored by the study of Social Sciences. Our malady is traced to our one-sided concentration on the study of non-human nature, and the neglect of the study of man, specially man in society. In an article in the Universities Quarterly, Lord Beveridge wrote: 'If mankind is to make worthy use of this growing mastery over nature, he must learn how to master himself. To win that mastery he must take the same road as has led to his mastery over nature, the hard, long road of science, applied not to nature but to man in society.' The Social Sciences, he argues, must be based on a study of facts and not on deduction from concepts. 'Without them civilization is in danger. Without better understanding of themselves and society, there can be no assured happiness for mankind.' It would be wrong to think that the betterment of mankind can be secured merely by the knowledge derived from natural and social sciences. While natural sciences give us mastery over nature, social sciences do not give mastery over ourselves. They give us basic information and knowledge about man in society. But progress depends not merely on knowledge but on will. Both natural and social sciences give us instruments and no norms for the right use of those instruments. The Social Sciences tell us how we can control human beings in society even as natural sciences tell us how we can control nature. By equipping man with this additional knowledge, the need for guidance has become greater. We have seen in our own time how the weapons of modern science and the techniques of modern psychology have been used for different schemes of social regeneration. Some advocates of social Utopias have organized the cupidities of men into terrifying systems of power. Some have used the newly acquired knowledge for sowing distrust, starting fissures among peoples who are already disrupted by their own dissensions. Leaders of States take hold of virgin minds, plastic, enthusiastic, impressionable, generous, and make them victims of racial, class, religious, or national pride.

If we are to use the knowledge of Social Sciences for helping human progress and world community, we must obtain the discipline of human nature from Aesthetics and Ethics, from
Philosophy and Religion, though they are not in the strict sense of the term Social Sciences. Sciences, natural or social, give us knowledge not judgement, power not vision, strength not sanction.

The aims which the resolution puts before us can be secured only if we look upon ourselves as members of humanity as a whole. The world consciousness should be aroused. The environment is suitable, only re-education is necessary. If the cave man had been asked to think nationally, he would not have understood. His ancestors thought in terms of family. Slowly the family clan yielded to the village. Then we had the City State and after that the idea of a nation grew up. It is still dominating us and will continue to do so, so long as there are peoples suffering from foreign control. Today the world has become small and our vision is enlarged. To make the world safe for peace, our conscience must grow and our comprehension of human dignity must increase. Civilization is constituted mainly by a series of human relationships which provide for the best possible development of the potentialities of human beings. We must, if we are to prepare ourselves for the new world which is on the horizon, rid ourselves of racial pride and religious intolerance and of that deep-seated lust for power, which Isocrates says, 'is the wicked harlot who makes city after city in love with her, to betray them one after another to their ruin'. (8.103). If Social Sciences testify to any truth, it is this, that nations, great in their intellectual, industrial and political achievements, fail to survive if they do not possess vision, charity and friendship for others. If the world is to be saved, the great nations of the world should look to one another as friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization and worthy rivals in the arts of peace.

Education in Social Sciences should help us 'to grow mature and free, to flower in love and goodness,' to increase wisdom and virtue. We should work for a general renewal of humanity. If the knowledge derived from sciences gets into wrong hands, the world will be in peril. If enough men and women arise in each community who are free from the fanaticisms of race, religion and ideologies, who will oppose strenuously every kind of mental and moral tyranny, who will develop in place of an angular national spirit a rounded world view, we will get near the concept of 'on earth one family'.

I hope that our deliberations will help to advance the study of Social Sciences in the South Asia region and help their peoples
to an understanding of the basic needs and the ultimate ideals of human society.

DELIHI UNIVERSITY

May I welcome you most cordially into our fellowship and express our sense of deep pride that we have in you, our latest graduate, one who has faith in the new international society and world peace. We have watched with admiration the great part Canada under your leadership has been playing in the United Nations and her endeavours to mediate between the United States and the Commonwealth, whenever such occasions arose, and I hope that such occasions were few.

It is the first time that the Prime Minister of Canada visits our country and other parts of Asia. It indicates the increasing recognition that the problems of the world cannot be disposed of without reference to the wishes of the Asian people. East and West have come together never again to part. It is no more a question of closer contact or association, but one of intimate union, union for a common creative destiny. 'We are members one of another,' said St. Paul, and if we courageously implement this truth in our daily life, in national and international affairs, we will make history 'rich in quality and majestic in scale'.

If there is unrest today in Asia and Africa, and if there are disruptive forces—social, economic and political—at work, we are convinced that these troublous conditions can be improved only by the extension of democratic liberties to them. We do not love freedom if we do not give freedom to others. We must show that we are zealous for social righteousness and we will not tolerate mass misery whether in the East or in the West. The free development of each nation is the condition for the free development of all. So long as people suffer in any part of the world from the evils of political, economic and racial exploitation, the world will be marred by cleavages and threatened by discords and peace will be precarious.

Chancellor's Address at Special Convocation admitting the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada, to an Honorary Degree of Delhi University, 24 February, 1954
In working for the new society, the Universities have a great part to play. The silent under-currents of human feeling, the general anxiety for peace and co-operative living are far nobler and more important than the much publicized conflicts of racial, national and ideological ambitions. It is for the Universities to prepare for the world community by taming the savageness of man, overcoming wildness, anarchical ambition, spiritual blindness, recalcitrance which are grave internal obstacles and the verve to settle problems by the arbitrament of force, forgetting that justice is more important than armaments and the maintenance of peace by threats of horror is repugnant to the moral sense of mankind. Political and economic arrangements are matters for contract and they can succeed only if there is unity of purpose, of heart and mind, springing from devotion to great ideals. It is the main function of Universities to foster world loyalties, a sense of moral values and faith in the human spirit, ideals which are shared by the Universities of the East and the West.

The problems are vast and the stakes are high and many of us seem to feel utterly helpless and inconsequential. We shrink within ourselves and gaze in dazed condition at the spectacle of society rushing towards its ruin with the seeming fatality of the Greek tragedy. But we are not prisoners of destiny. The human individual is a free agent, svatantraḥ kartā; 'he is a cause, not an effect,' in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas. When, therefore, we find a person of your serene and commanding qualities steadfastly working for peace, without being discouraged by difficulties, with faith in the ultimate destiny of mankind—the waves on the shore may be broken, but the ocean conquers nevertheless—we feel proud to honour you. May you live long to lead your nation and through it the world, to an era of positive peace and general prosperity.

SAHITYA AKADEMI

In the regrettable absence of our Chairman who is essentially a man of letters who has strayed into politics owing to the conditions of our time, I have been asked to inaugurate the Sāhitya

Inaugural Address, 12 March, 1954
Akademi or the National Academy of Letters. As the Maulana Sahib has just explained, we have now an Academy for drama and music; we hope to set up one for the visual arts and today we are starting an Academy for letters.

Sāhitya Akademi, the phrase combines two words, one Sanskrit and the other Greek, suggesting the universal aspiration of our enterprise. Sāhitya is literary composition, Akademi is a society of learned people. It is an academy of literary men, those who do creative work in literature in the different languages of our country. Maulana Sahib has rightly emphasized the importance of standards. Association with the Academy either as Fellows or as Members is regarded as a great distinction in all civilized countries. It is the means of recognizing men of achievement, encouraging men of promise in letters, educating public taste, and improving standards. The Sāhitya Akademi of our country should take note of the important creative work done in the different languages of the country.

I agree with you, Maulana Sahib, in thinking that the intellectual renaissance through which we are passing, is, to no small extent, due to the impact of Western culture on our society. This impact came to us through the English language. Your references to the writings of men like Tagore and Gandhi, Aurobindo Ghosh and Nehru fully justify the inclusion of English among the languages to be noted by the Akademi.

It is the aim of the Government to take the initial steps and encourage by adequate financial grants the work of the Akademi. It is not the responsibility of the Government to produce creative work. We are reminded of Napoleon’s remark: ‘I hear we have no poets in France, what is the Minister for the Interior doing about it?’ No Government can make poets to order; it may subsidize versifiers. The Akademi should remain completely autonomous, if we are to have a creative and not a managed literature.

When we aim at a Welfare State and expect the State to provide all things, we must see to it, in the interests of our social health and vitality, that the individual does not lose the freedom to live his own life by his own standards, according to the dictates of his own conscience, that he has the liberty to conform or not conform, to do, undo, or misdo so long as he does not interfere with the equal freedom of others, and does not cross the limits of decency.
Society is becoming more and more regimented. The scope for free activity is becoming increasingly restricted. We are all numbered and docketed. We are becoming anonymous units in a crowd, not free subjects in a society. The individual seeks the shelter of the crowd for safety, for comfort, for relief from loneliness, from responsibility. We have a fear of freedom. When our activities are regulated, imagination which rests in solitude cannot thrive. Unless the individual has the courage to be lonely in his mind, free in his thought, he is not capable of great writing. Great literature, like true religion, is what a man does with his solitariness, to use Whitehead's phrase. W. B. Yeats says:

We make out of the quarrel with others, rhetoric but out of the quarrel with ourselves, poetry.

The aim of literature is the good of the world—viśvaśreyah kāvyam. Its purpose is not to reflect the world but to redeem the world. It is not to mirror the glinting surfaces of the given but to recreate the experience. The literary artist must enter into solitude, glimpse the vision, bring it down to earth, shape it with emotion, and carve it into words. Literature is the channel between spiritual vision and human beings. The poet is a priest of the invisible world, a divine creator, a kavi. He is not a mere entertainer but is a prophet who inspires and expresses in varied ways the entire aspirations of the society to which he belongs. All this means concentration and integrity which become difficult, if not impossible, if our minds are filled with sickness and violence or if we become puppets with stereo-typed opinions.

An academy, as used and understood by the Greeks, meant a body of students gathered round a leading philosopher for the study of philosophical problems. The first Academy was the philosophical society founded by Plato about 387 B.C. where he taught his pupils among whom was Aristotle. These academies were like the forest hermitages of the Upaniṣads. In Renaissance Italy, groups interested in humanistic studies formed academies. Modern academies are the continuation and development of these mediaeval academies. The French Academy is one of the five academies which together constitute the Institute of France. The French Academy includes not only men of letters but philosophers and historians whose works rank as literature. Bergson, Gilson and Grousset were elected Members of the French Academy. Our National Academy of Letters may include creative writers
in history, philosophy, oriental studies also as the French Academy
does.
Whatever gives the shock of intellectual and imaginative
pleasure and says something fresh and stimulating is literature or
sāhitya. The Rg Veda, the first literary document in the world,
is not merely religion and symbolism but poetry and literature.
The Bible, the Avesta, and the Qurān are not merely classics of
religion but are works of literature. The seers of the Rg Veda clothe
exalted thought in words of force and feeling. The first verse reads:
agnim śle puhohitam yajñaśya devaṁ
rīvijāṁ hotāram rātina dāhātam.
The seer piles up five adjectives to suggest Agni’s competence to
confer material and spiritual blessings. In the Upaniṣads, we
find noble ideals and artistic expression. Many literary devices
are employed to increase the effect and impress the reader, e.g. in
the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, the writer points out, in a series of
passages, how all objects of the world, earthly possessions, romantic
delights provide opportunities for the realization of the self:
na vā are patyuḥ kāmāya patiḥ priyo bhavati, ātmanus tu
kāmāya patiḥ priyo bhavati; na vā are jāyāyai kāmāya jāyā
priyā bhavati, ātmanas tu kāmāya jāyā priyā bhavati; na vā are
putrāṇām kāmāya putrāḥ priyā bhavanti, ātmanas tu kāmāya
putrāḥ priyā bhavanti; na vā are vittasya kāmāya vittam priyam
bhavati, ātmanas tu kāmāya vittam priyam bhavati;
and so on.
In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, it is said:
yathā, saumya, ekena mṛtpiṇḍena sarvam mṛṇmayaṁ vijñātam
syāt, vācārambhāṇam vikāro nāmadheyaṁ mṛttikety eva
satyam.
To illustrate the same point, other images of a nugget of gold,
a pair of scissors, are used.
Another Upaniṣad, after pointing out that we live in a three-
storeyed house of waking, dream and sleep, refers to the state of
freedom or illumination in words of intellectual rigour and aesthetetic sensibility:
nāntaḥ praṇaḥ, na bahiṣ praṇaḥ, nobhayataḥ praṇaḥ, na
praṇāṇa ghanam, na praṇaḥ, na praṇaḥ, adṛṣṭam,
avyvahāryam, agrāhyam, alaṅkāram, acintyam, avyapade-
śyam, ekāṭma-pratyayasāram, prapaṅcospaśamam, śāntam,
śivam, advaitam, caturtham manyante, sa ātmā, sa vijnīyāḥ.
It is not necessary to refer to the beauty and grace of the 
Bhagavadgītā.

It is a delight to read the stately and sonorous prose of Śaṅkara.
Look at this :

\[ \text{sa ca bhagavān jñānaśvarya-śakti-bala-vīrya:-tejobhiḥ sadā sampannaḥ, trigunātmikāṁ vaiṣṇavīṁ svāṁ māyāṁ mūla-prakṛtīṁ vaśikṛtya, ajo, avyayo, bhutānāṁ iśvaro, nitya-śuddha-buddha-mukta-svabhāvopī san, svamāyayā dehavān iva jāta iva lokānugraham kurvan iva lakṣyate.}^{1} \]

Gandhi includes in his prayers the famous verse from Guru Govind Singh’s writings :

\[ \text{iśvara alla tera nāma} \]
\[ \text{mandir masjida tere dhāma} \]
\[ \text{sabako sanmati de bhagavān.} \]

Indian writers, whatever subjects they handle, aim at literary grace and distinction. Our term sāhitya should include the classics of religion and philosophy even as Greek literature includes Plato’s Dialogues and Thucydides’ History.

Literature has been one of our major contributions to the world. Our epics and plays, our tales and folk-lore transmit to us the great ideals of harmony with nature and integrity of mind. They have influenced the literature of the different languages of the country. In the millennium between the Greek drama and the Elizabethan the only drama of quality in the world is, according to Berriedale Keith, the Indian drama. An Indian drama is not merely a play. It is poetry, music, symbolism and religion. Images chase one another beyond the speed of thought in the writings of Kālidāsa who is known outside our frontiers. He represents the spirit of India, even as Shakespeare England, Goethe Germany and Pushkin Russia.

It is by its art and literature that a society is judged at the bar of history. They are the reflection of the vitality of a race. They decline when people suffer from spiritual exhaustion.

We live today in an age of change, adventure, opportunity and expanding horizons. New influences are penetrating our thought. Our minds are in conflict and confusion. If some of us suffer from boredom and triviality, it is because we are neglecting the spirit in man and making him a subject of economic greed or a bundle of conditioned reflexes. It is for the men of letters, the artists and

\[^{1} \text{Commentary on the Bhagavadgītā} \]
the thinkers to recapture the dignity, the mission and the destiny of this ancient race and produce a new climate of ideas which will prepare for the universal republic of letters and a world society.

EXHIBITION OF NANDALAL BOSE'S PAINTINGS CALCUTTA

I am happy to be here and inaugurate the exhibition of paintings of Ācārya Nandalal Bose who, for two generations, has enriched the art of the world, established the fame of Indian painting and contributed to human welfare. It is fitting that this exhibition of paintings should be held in this College of Art and Craft, where Nandalal Bose received his early training. After leaving the College, he joined Abanindranath Tagore’s School of Painting and his influence on Nandalal Bose’s work has been lasting. Rabindranath Tagore invited him to join the art section of Vicitra, a society of artists and literateurs. When Tagore founded the Viśva-Bhārati, Nandalal Bose became the head of its Kalā-bhavan. There he trained bands of young men and women for whom his life and work have been a source of constant inspiration.

Genius in this country in the past was anonymous and Nandalal Bose comes nearest to that ideal. Utter simplicity, unostentatious manners, a child-like heart conceal a rare blend of creative vision and fine craftsmanship. While his paintings are examples of great inspiration and technical skill, few men have endeared themselves by simple good nature to their pupils, colleagues and friends as Nandalal Bose.

India has had a long tradition in fine arts and even in painting the tradition goes back to the pre-Christian era. From the drawings in red pigment of animals and hunting scenes in the pre-historic caves of Singhanpur and Mirzapur, it is evident that painting has had a long history in this country.¹ The Rāmāyaṇa, the Vinaya

Inaugural Address, 27 March, 1954

¹ 'There are primitive records of hunting scenes crudely drawn on the walls of a group of caves in the Kaimur range of Central India, while examples of painting of the later Stone Age have been found in excavations in the Vindhaya hills.'—Percy Brown: Indian Painting, p. 15
Piṭaka refer to citraśālās which answer to our picture galleries. The Buddhist frescoes found on the walls of a cave in Sirguya in the Madhya Pradesh belong to the first century before Christ. Fa Hien and Yuan Chuang described many buildings as famous for the excellence of their murals. The art of fresco painting in the Ajanta caves reached a perfection never surpassed anywhere else. The nobility of the theme, the majestic scope of the design, the unity of the composition, the clearness, the simplicity and the firmness of the line give us an impression of the astonishing perfection of the whole. Religious piety fused architecture, sculpture and painting into a happy harmony. These artists with their deeply religious spirit worked in anonymity. They brought their faith, their sincerity as well as their skill to serve their religion. After this period we had the Moghul and the Rajput Schools as well as independent developments in the South, in the Courts of Tanjore, Pudukkota and Mysore.¹ In the British period, occidental influences became prominent. As a part of the general cultural reawakening to which Bengal contributed a great deal, we became conscious of our own artistic heritage. E. B. Havell, Ānanda Coomāraswāmy, and Abanindranath Tagore called upon Indian artists not to be mere slavish copyists of crude Western models but to realize the spirit of India’s great artistic past and develop free creative expression.

The new School of Painting, inspired by the master artists of Ajanta, produced a series of spontaneous masterpieces which revealed the soul of India to the world. They became famous for their spiritual quality, aesthetic appeal and inward truthfulness or integrity. The history of Indian painting presents the cultural and spiritual history of the Indian people.

Not only was the art practised from ancient times without any gap—though our knowledge of the history of the art may have many gaps—the theory of it has also been formulated. In a pre-Buddhist work called Śaḍ-aṅga or the six limbs of painting, six principles were set forth. i. Rūpa-bheda or knowledge of appearances. We must study the forms, the objects animate and inanimate, human figures, nature and landscape. ii. Pramāṇam or correct perception, measure, structure, proportion, perspective.

¹ Abul Fazl, writing of contemporary Hindu painting, says: ‘Their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are found equal to them.’—Aini Akbari, Blockmann’s E. T. Vol. I, p. 107
iii. Bhāva, or the action of feelings on forms. iv. Lāvanya-yojanam or the infusion of grace or beauty in the artistic representation. v. Sādṛśyam or similitude, truth. vi. Varnika-bhaṅga or the skillful use of brush and colours, control over technique.

The purpose of all art is sacramental. In ancient times, art was used not as a means for public enjoyment, but as an accessory of worship. The great displays of sculpture and painting took place in India as in ancient Greece in temples and were made in honour of the gods. In temples and cathedrals men became conscious of the power of works of art, to quicken their spirits and give dignity and order to their lives.

ātmasaṁskṛtīr vāva śilpāni: The arts, mechanical or fine, are for the refinement of the soul, ātmasaṁskṛti. They help fuller understanding of the human spirit and greatly enlarge our capacity for life. He who attains to the vision of beauty is from himself set free. In the disinterestedness of aesthetic contemplation, the human spirit is momentarily freed from the inconsistencies and confusions of temporal life.

mokṣayate hi saṁsāraḥ: Music and literature, dance and drama, sculpture and painting are intended to purge the soul of its defects and lead it to a vision of the Eternal. These arts cannot refine the soul unless they spring from the soul, unless the spirit of man raises itself above its usual routine level. The artist is a priest. The aim of art is to capture the inner and informing spirit and not merely the outward semblance. It is by integral insight or spiritual intuition rather than by observation and analysis of given objects that the sculptor or the painter attains to the highest power of artistic expression. Our arts are not concerned with the appearances of the actual. They are directed towards the realization of ideas, of the truth in the objects. Arts do not so much represent as suggest. They do not so much reproduce reality as create aesthetic emotion. They are interested in the spirit of men and things rather than in their material forms. In all arts we have imaginative creation. It is related of a famous modern painter that when he had painted a sunset, someone said to him: 'I never saw a sunset like that,' and the painter replied: 'Don't you wish you could?' The artist's primary aspiration is for a redeemed world. His mind is not a mirror which reflects the glinting surfaces of the given. It is on fire, close to contemplation. Croce is correct when he speaks of 'the artist, who never
makes a stroke with his brush without having previously seen it with his imagination’. When the king Agnimitra found the portrait of Mālavikā lacking in fidelity to the original, he traced it to śīthilasamādhi, impaired concentration.²

An agnostic and culturally uprooted age cannot hope to regain that faith and singleness of soul which gave to mediaeval Christian art its peculiar self-confidence and innocent intensity or to acquire that meditative calm which imparted such immanent sublimity to the Ajanta frescoes. But only work flushed by the past and pointing to the future has lasting significance.

When we come across a great genius who has abiding faith in the spirit of this ancient land, who has that rarest of all qualities, unhampered, unclouded vision, who has a highly developed artistic sense restrained by a sense of discipline and sound workmanship always conscious of its true purpose, we feel that our country has come into its own in the world of art. Nandalāl Bose takes his material from the classical myths and legends of India and gives new form to ancient ideals. His pictures of Śiva and Pārvatī, his scenes from the life of the Buddha, and of Caitanya are of abiding quality. He has also given us exquisite pictures of ordinary themes, a dog curling on the ground, a goat suckling its kids, a child playing with a kitten, etc., etc.

The abundance and versatility of his work are impressive. Though his outstanding work is in painting, he has tried other ways such as the fresco, clay-modelling, wood-cut, etching, leather work, textile design, stage decoration, etc. Whatever be the means, Nandalāl Bose’s work achieves lasting greatness because of his conscious sense of dedication.

The appeal of great art is not to an esoteric clique. The poorest and the most illiterate respond to it. It has been in our country the great exponent of our national faith and tradition. Nandalāl Bose’s work should be known to millions and exhibitions like this and albums of reproductions deserve to be encouraged. It is my earnest hope that he may live long and inspire our people with his own faith in the destiny and mission of this ancient race.

¹ *Aesthetic*, p. 162
² II, 2
THE WRITER AND THE PRESENT CRISIS

FRIENDS, Shri C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar spoke to us of the valuable work done by the Annamalai University in fostering Tamil studies. Tamil is the language which is the symbol of the soul of the Tamil people. It has had a long history and is still vigorous and dynamic. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru spoke of the basic unity of India despite the diversity of languages and exhorted us to study each other's literatures and understand the kinship of thought and ideals binding the different literatures. The P.E.N. takes us a little farther into the world arena.

The P.E.N. India Centre is now in its twenty-first year. It was founded in 1933 by Madame Sophia Wadia with her great faith in its possibilities for the cause of world unity and human brotherhood.

The India Centre of the P.E.N. has functioned all these years, promoting unity within and understanding without. It has served as a link between the different linguistic regions of India and as a bridge between India and the other nations of the world. Its one essential objective has been to create a community of mind which is the essential basis for a stable world order.

While Governments use power and sanctions to mould events, we use persuasion, we appeal to reason and emotion and use words spoken or written to shape the future. We do not serve any nation, faith, or ideology. Our cause is humanity and our interest is peace.

Our first President, Rabindranath Tagore, though his inspiration was derived from the spirit of India, spoke of the universal man. In his Viśva-Bhārati he sought the co-operation of all countries, all creeds and all cultures. His life was spent in the persistent effort to build a new world of human fellowship. For our second President, Sarojini Naidu, Indian culture was not a monotonous one but a rich, full diversity. India is one in spirit, however diverse in race and creed. Differences of language have not been an impediment to the growth of a common cultural outlook. Both our Presidents were inspired by the vision of human unity. With such examples to guide us, we literary men, poets and playwrights, editors and novelists, should use our gifts to clear the mists of misunderstanding and give to

Speech at the Indian P.E.N. Congress, 16 April (Easter Friday), 1954
our world which is shrill and sharp a friendly countenance and character.

If we wish to bring about radical changes in our patterns of behaviour, we should bring about changes in our modes of thought. We must start revolutions in the minds and hearts of the people.

We live today on the edge of a precipice. The perils of atomic and hydrogen developments dominate our thoughts and trouble our conscience. A great atomic scientist of the United States, when he saw the first atomic blast where the flame and the smoke rose from the earth and touched the fringe of the atmosphere of the New Mexican city, said that he was reminded of the Bhagavad-gītā. He quoted: 'If the radiance of a thousand suns were to burst at once into the sky, that would be like the splendour of the Mighty One. . . . . I am become death, the shatterer of the worlds.' The effects of the hydrogen bomb are vastly more devastating. Their incalculable destructive power, we feel, will act as a great deterrent to war. But by these threats of limitless horror we are appealing to the baser instincts of human nature—fear, greed and hate.

It is a familiar conception of Indian thought that the human heart is the scene of the age-old conflict between good and evil. It is assailed by weakness and imperfection but is capable also of high endeavour and creative effort. Man is a composite of life-giving and death-dealing impulses, yasya chāyā amṛtam, yasya mṛtyuh, whose shadow is immortality and death, as the Rg Veda² puts it. The Mahābhārata says:

    amṛtam caiva mṛtyuḥ ca dvayaṁ dehe pratiṣṭhitam
    mṛtyur āpadyate mohāt satyenāpadyate amṛtam.

Immortality and death are both lodged in the nature of man. By the pursuit of moha or delusion he reaches death; by the pursuit of truth he attains immortality. We are all familiar with the verse in the Hitopadeśa that hunger, sleep, fear and sex are common to men and animals. What distinguishes men from animals is the sense of right and wrong.³ Life and death, love and violence are warring in every struggling man.

¹ XI, 12, 32
² X, 10, 121
³ āhāra nidrā bhaya maithunam ca sāmānyam etat pasubhir narānām
dharmo hi teṣām adhiko viśeṣo dharmeṇa htnāḥ pasubhīḥ samānāḥ.
Modern psychology repeats this truth in technical terms. There are two sets of instincts in each human being, those which conserve and unify, called erotic instincts from the sense which Plato gives to Eros in the *Symposium*, and those which destroy and kill, which are called the aggressive or the destructive instincts. The death instinct functions in every living being striving to work its ruin in contrast to the erotic instinct which makes for the continuance of life. These two sets of instincts do not work in isolation. They get mixed up like the waters of the river Yamunā, the dark daughter of Yama, and those of the river Gaṅgā issuing forth from the tangled locks of Śiva. Destructive instincts are sometimes stimulated by an appeal to idealism. Ordinary people are kindly and generous, friendly and co-operative but by propaganda and indoctrination we can drain their vital springs, call the destructive instincts into play and raise them to the power of a collective neurosis. The cruelties of history are perpetrated in the name of noble causes. The atrocities of the Inquisition, for example, drew their strength from the destructive instincts which were released in the name of religion. In the past, men were infected with the war fever by an appeal to the great causes of freedom and democracy, honour and justice, which often served as a camouflage for the lust for power, religious fanaticism and race prejudice. So all wars were regarded as just and holy wars.

Civilization consists in the gradual subordination of the instinctive life to the sway of reason. It is the duty of independent thinkers who do not yield to pressure or intimidation, who are fervent in their quest of truth, to foster the feeling of community and diminish the force of aggressive instincts. When we feel persuaded that the enormous power which nations now possess will act as a deterrent to war, we are having in view the little savage, the ‘old Adam’ that lies at the bottom of every human breast. Of all emotions the least compatible with freedom and the most degrading to man is fear. By planting appalling fear in men’s hearts, we corrupt their morals and destroy their minds. A London schoolmaster writes:

In the bus on the way to school I asked one of our small boys (age 11) what he intended to be when he grew up. He replied: ‘Sir, I need not worry, as by that time there will be nowhere to grow up on.’

1 Mr R. R. Willis of Bow Brook School, Peopleton, Worcestershire, in the London *Times*, April 5, 1954
Principal Jacks suggested that the only way to avert war was for both sides to proclaim that they would use all the bombs they had, the moment the war started. Field Marshal Lord Montgomery, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, said in a broadcast from London on Tuesday, the sixth of this month, that if a war broke out, both sides would use atomic weapons 'from the outset'.

President Eisenhower said: 'As long as men in the Kremlin know we are in a position to act strongly and retaliate, war is not a decision they would take lightly, but they might do this in a fit of madness or miscalculation.' So we have the fear that some neurotics may seize control of the frightful machinery of war and shatter to bits in an hour all that has been built up in the course of centuries. The power to retaliate does not give us any security. We seem to live in a state of morbid fear, suspicion and hatred. President Eisenhower at a Press Conference on March 17, 1954 said: 'The world is suffering from a multiplicity of fears. We fear the men in the Kremlin; we fear what they will do to our friends around them; we are fearing what unwise investigations will do to us here at home as they try to combat subversion or bribery or deceit within. We fear depression; we fear the loss of jobs. All of these with their impact on the human mind make us act almost hysterically, and you find hysterical reaction.'

To cure the fears that he has listed, President Eisenhower wishes to summon up faith in the destiny of America. The failure of nerve, the hysterical reaction are due to lack of faith in the spirit and the institutions of America, in the democratic way of life which we value above life itself. What is the democratic way of life? It includes good faith, tolerance, respect for opinions which we do not share, equal justice for all, the power to speak one's own thoughts, to act according to one's conscience, do one's duty as one sees it, to live under a Government which he has a voice in making and unmaking, to promote the causes and advance the reforms which command his devotion, however repugnant they may be to the rulers.

Many of our difficulties are due to this fact that the suppressed peoples are demanding the very liberties which we hold so dear. The unrest in Asia and Africa is proof that democracy is growing and not dying. If we sincerely believe in our professions that all

1 New York Times, March 18, 1954, p. 4
men are created equal, that all persons, irrespective of caste and creed, race and nation are entitled to the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, if we accept seriously the principles of religion that we are members one of another, that in God there is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither Greek nor Barbarian, if we are eager to implement the principles of the U.N. Charter, if our faith in democracy is not skin-deep but from the heart's core, then our whole approach to the problems that now divide the world will be very different. We will then stand by the people who are suffering from colonial domination, economic oppression and racial discrimination and strive to bring them relief by removing the hardships which now fetter their lives. These are problems which are independent of communism. They are natural, indigenous and legitimate. We must face without fear the revolts and revolutions of the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa. If, on the other hand, we defend the exploiters and condemn the exploited, if we persist in ruling the mass of mankind by force and fear, if we compete with one another in depriving the unhappy peoples of the world of hope and faith, we have ourselves to blame for the world situation. If the whole world is living under pressure it is because of our hesitations and compromises.

Peace cannot be had without our paying the price for it. The price can be paid only by those who have something to offer, those who have power and wealth. They should decide not to use their power for the domination of people, not to use their wealth for their corruption. Power and wealth depart from nations as they depart from men. The instances of Assyria, Babylon, Crete, Egypt, Greece, Rome and Spain leap to our eyes. What endures for any nation is what it contributes to the common heritage of all nations, to literature and arts, to science and government, to freedom and democracy.

In cases of national or ideological conflicts, we should seek not a precarious military solution but a permanent human one. We cannot divide the peoples of the world into blacks and whites. These sharp distinctions which develop feelings of hatred for large sections of humanity are not adequate to human relations. The common people in every country are like ourselves, ordinary human beings, who wish to go about their daily work, do their best for their children, cultivate their own garden and live at peace with their neighbours. If some of them are willing tools of their
Governments, many are their unwilling victims. Instead of threatening those who are opposed to us with frightful disaster, we should appeal to their higher nature. We may not love each other or like each other; we may at least talk to each other, try to understand each other. We must learn to put ourselves in the place of other people and realize how they feel.

On this Easter Friday, it may not be inappropriate to remember that the Cross is the symbol of ultimate victory, the swallowing up of death by life. It proclaims that understanding and compassion are more powerful than fire and sword. ‘Blessed are the meek’, those who have patience, humility, understanding and love.

‘In my Father’s house there are many mansions,’ said Jesus. No nation need assume that it has been cast by heaven for the role of the lords of creation. If there are people who differ from us, our duty is not to fight them but to help to remake them, to open their eyes, to demonstrate to them the sterility of their programmes, to make them aware of the rich horizons of the human spirit. We may have to put up with a good deal of malice and misrepresentation but the democratic way of life requires of us charity and understanding. The glory is not in war but in reconciliation. Since no Government in the world desires us all to go down in a common disaster we must try to negotiate. If agreement is impossible then peace is impossible, but peace does not mean submission to the enemy. Negotiation is not appeasement nor is bomb-rattling diplomacy. Difficulties are there to be faced and overcome. We may not be able to solve them forthwith. We must learn to live with difficulties. The world cannot be suddenly or magically transformed. Human progress embraces vast stretches of time. There is no need for impatience or discouragement. Failure should not bring forth anger. Error is not crime; it is only youth, immaturity. ‘When a tree grows up to heaven,’ says Nietzsche, ‘its roots reach down to hell.’ There is no duality between heaven and hell. The opposition is between higher and lower stages of development. When our vision penetrates beyond the stuffy horizons of good and evil, we will be gentle with the frailties of the weak and be stern only with ourselves.

Faith without works is empty. We are not prepared to extend democratic liberties to those who do not possess them. We are not prepared to adopt the democratic spirit in dealing with our
adversaries. Infidelity to our own ideals has to be cured if the process of rebarbarization of the world is to be checked.

If, as the French saying has it, war is too important to be entrusted to the generals, we may say that peace is much too fragile to be entrusted to politicians. Our Prime Minister who has given us a stirring and stimulating address is not a mere politician. The intellectuals must become aware of their mission to build a universal society, which is truly free and democratic, based on the preciousness of the human soul. The P.E.N. strives to promote ‘good understanding and mutual respect between nations, to dispel race, class and national hatreds and to champion the ideal of one humanity living in peace in one world.’ Out of the anguish of our times is being born a new unity of all mankind in which the free spirit of man can find peace and safety. It is in our power to end the fears which afflict humanity, and save the world from the disaster that impends. Only we should be men of a universal cast of mind, capable of interpreting peoples to one another and developing a faith that is the only antidote to fear. The threat to our civilization can be met only on the deeper levels of consciousness. If we fail to overcome the discord between power and spirit, we will be destroyed by the forces which we had the knowledge to create but not the wisdom to control. For the new effort we need the sense of religious purpose.

In the Rg Veda, which is our earliest literary document, we see the face of early India, while it was yet dawn from which the bright day has grown. For those early writers, literature was the outcome of spiritual discipline, a purging of the emotions, a setting aside of all selfish considerations. That experience is a fever in which the mind is on fire and the spirit in exaltation. Literary artists, who are emancipated in their minds and hearts, are the spokesmen of the unborn world unity, based not on fear, greed and hate, but on that which is eternal in man, the spirit that hungers and thirsts after righteousness, the spirit that will not be denied.

We are meeting in this sacred place Chidambaram which has been famous for centuries in South Indian history. From the sixth century onwards, great Śaiva saints like Appar, Jñānasambandar, Sundarar, Māṇikkavaśagar visited the temple and sang the praises of Naṭarāja. The Chola Kings for four centuries from the ninth onwards worshipped Naṭarāja as their tutelary deity.
The temple is dedicated to one of the five symbols (pañcaliṅga): 
1. the symbol of earth (prthivi) at Kanchipuram; 2. the symbol of water (ap) at Jambukeśvaram; 3. the symbol of light (tejas) at Tiruvannāmalai; 4. the symbol of air (vāyu) at Kālahasti; and 5. the symbol of space (ākāśa), ether, having no material representation, at Chidambaram. The Indian spirit does not encourage the proud assertion of human personality but leads our thoughts out from ourselves into the universal life. These five elements are hints of the Infinite, whispers from secret sources, which speak to us of a Presence mightier than ourselves.

The universal Reality transcends the cosmic process and exceeds the categories of the empirical world. It is therefore treated as indefinable by linguistic symbols or mental concepts. It is without form and yet is the source of all forms. From the cosmic end the Supreme Reality becomes the cosmic lord, Naṭarāja, the Lord of Dance.

The image of Naṭarāja is the representation of the pure, undifferenced Being which stands behind the image with a curtain and a string of bilva leaves suspended in front of it. Naṭarāja is the manifestation of the Lord of the cosmos. He is the perfect image of becoming as distinct from pure being. He symbolizes rhythm, action, movement. God is a creator-artist.

In regard to these manifestations, different aspects are brought out in different symbols. This makes for the appreciation of other forms of worship. A mediaeval Indian mystic wrote: 'There may be different kinds of oil in different lamps, the wicks may also be of different kinds but when they burn, we have the same flame and illumination.' Whatever may be our view of the Divine, whatever may be our mode of approach, if our effort is sincere, we reach the goal.

True religion is not what we get from outside, from books and teachers. It is not the religion of routine which we adopt as a matter of habit. It is the aspiration of every human soul, that which unfolds within oneself, that which is built by one's life-blood. It is the fulfilment of our nature in which there is joy which overflows into world's service.

Nanda, one of the sixty-three famous Śaiva devotees, though born an outcaste, by his intense devotion to the Supreme, became a nāyanār and is adored as a saint. The earth is made radiant by the greatness of such people who have risen from small
beginnings to great heights of devotion. The story of Nandanār illustrates that the distinctions of caste and outcaste are untenable for the authentically religious being.

Here in Chidambaram we find a repudiation of cosmic purposelessness, acceptance of various forms of worship which are accepted as valid, insistence on human equality and participation in the world's upward evolution. Those are the beliefs and aspirations of our people, however disloyal some of us may have been to them. It is this disloyalty, false complacency, facile religion and pharisasm that are responsible for the weakness of our social fabric. We should raise our voice against the unbridled might of social, economic and religious reaction. Only when we shake off our internal insufficiencies will it be possible for us to make significant contribution to human welfare.

The events of the last few weeks portend either the end of human history or a turning point in it. This warning is given to us in letters of fire. We recover moral control and return to spiritual life or we pass out as so many other species. Survival demands a change in the spirit of our lives. Let us labour to bring it about while yet there is light. *Kṛṇvanto viśvam āryam.*¹ Let us make the whole world happy.

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¹ *Ṛg Veda*, IX, 63.5. *viśvam bhadram kurvantaḥ*

Presidential Address, October, 1954
human, a more civilized, a more dignified method of altering constitutions, of changing Governments is the method of free elections, and in this country today we are having free elections.

I am informed that they do not look upon political freedom as an end in itself. Everything is being done to raise the material standards of the people of Uruguay. You have here free education—education free in both the schools and the universities; you have free medical services, you have pensions for old-aged people or people suffering from sickness, or who have contributed to Government service. I believe that the State of Uruguay can be regarded therefore as a model democracy. We wish them well in the future. I have no doubt that their security is sure because they have neither uranium nor oil.

Since we last met our membership has increased. We are very glad to welcome the delegates from Soviet Russia, which has, for the first time, joined this Organization. I venture to hope that their presence here will contribute to the dissipation of the mists of misunderstanding, the dissolution so to say, of frozen attitudes, of rigid postures, of fear, suspicion and distrust, and contribute to the development of world understanding which is one of the main objectives of this great Organization. Not only Soviet Russia, but other countries have also joined: Byelo-Russia, Ukraine, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, who were with us for some time, then left us, now, like prodigals, have come back to us. I do hope that their presence here will also help to promote world understanding. I am informed that there are certain technical difficulties in the way of their immediate admission and recognition. Without prejudging the issue, without anticipating the Administrative Commission’s decisions—as a very strictly temporary measure—I am just throwing out a suggestion to you, that they may be allowed the full voting rights. As a matter of fact, I am going to make a statement on the question as soon as time permits.

The world, once divided by oceans and continents, today is united physically, but there are still suspicions and misunderstandings. It is essential for us not to live apart but to live together, understanding one another, knowing one another’s fears and anxieties, aspirations and thoughts: that is what we are expected to do. We have all subscribed to the United Nations Charter—that Charter which affirms faith in the fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person. Political